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ORIGINAL LETTERS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

ENGLISH HISTORY.

THIRD SERIES.

Edward' Rex quart'

ORIGINAL LETTERS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

ENGLISH HISTORY.

INCLUDING

NUMEROUS ROYAL LETTERS:

8826

FROM AUTOGRAPHS

IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, THE STATE PAPER OFFICE,

AND ONE OR TWO OTHER COLLECTIONS.

WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

BY

SIR HENRY ELLIS, K. H. F. R. S. Sec. S. A.

PRINCIPAL LIBRARIAN OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

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THIRD SERIES.

VOL. I.

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY BRANCH

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TO

HER MOST SACRED MAJESTY

VICTORIA,

QUEEN OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

THIS

THIRD SERIES OF LETTERS

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

ENGLISH HISTORY

IS DEDICATED WITH ALL HUMILITY

BY

HER MAJESTY'S MOST LOYAL,

AND DEVOTED SUBJECT AND SERVANT,

HENRY ELLIS.

British Museum,
May 20th, 1846.

PREFACE.

EACH Series of the former Volumes of these Letters began with the Reign of Henry the Fifth, because that was the period when Letters were first written in English. Till then, Latin and French had been the languages of Correspondence.

Letters in Latin, illustrative of English History, are numerous from the eleventh to the fifteenth century.[a] A few, of importance, occur in the Collection of Archbishop Lanfranc's Letters; others are among those of Anselm; and some relating to England in the time of Henry the Second will be found

[a] The earliest Letter written in England, now remaining, is probably that of Wuldher Bishop of London to Beretuald, or Birhtuald, Archbishop of Canterbury, in Latin, preserved in the Cottonian Manuscript Augustus II. art. 18, desiring his advice as to the mode of proceeding at a Council summoned at a place called Breguntford, for settling certain differences which had arisen between the King and the said Council. Birhtuald was Archbishop of Canterbury from A.D. 692 to 731. The Letter is greatly injured, and altogether too difficult to be perfectly made out: a solitary record of early epistolary intercourse in the Saxon times. The Editor knows of no other Letter previous to the Norman Conquest.

in the Correspondence of Peter de Blois. Matthew Paris's "Historia Major" is full of such Letters, and none can perhaps be found in his History more graphic in description than that from a Knight in the Army of Henry the Third, in 1245, which details the particulars of a conflict with the Welsh.

A few Letters partly selected from the sources here referred to, with others from their Autographs, are given in the opening of the present Volume; not as a Collection, but as specimens of a mass of Correspondence, reaching back to the time of William the First, which has been little, if at all, either known or consulted by the English Historians.

The late Mr. Petrie once intended to give an Assemblage of such Letters as an Appendage to his proposed "Corpus Historiarum." What progress he had made in the Collection the present Writer is unable to say; but the publication of such Correspondence in a collected form, accompanied by illustrations and explanatory notes, would prove an useful accession to the present stores of our History. Baronius says "*Epistolaris Historia est optima Historia.*"

Letter-writing was resorted to in early times only on occasions of moment; even letters of familiarity frequently took the shape of *legal* instruments. Till a comparatively late period, too, vellum was the sub-

stance upon which they were written;[b] and scribes were employed to endite them.[c] Even at a still later time, when English was the language used, we find Anne Countess of Warwick, in her petition to Parliament from the Sanctuary of Beaulieu, for the restitution of her inheritance, stating "that in *absence of clerkes*" she hath "*wretyn lettres in that behalfe to the Kynges Highnes* WITH HER OWN HAND, and not onely makyng such labores, suytes, and meanes to the Kynges Highnes, sothely also to the Quenes good Grace, to my ryght redoghted Lady the Kynges moder, to my lady the Kyng's eldest doughter, to my Lordes the Kyngs brethren, to my Ladyes the Kynges susters, to my Lady of Bedford,

[b] Our earliest use of paper in epistolary correspondence cannot be carried further back than the reign of Edward the First, during whose time, or in the latter part of his father's time, it seems to have been brought from the East by way of Italy. It was one of the conveniences of life for which we are indebted to the Crusades. The earliest instances of its use are to be found among what are called the Letters missive at the Record Office in the Tower.

[c] The Cottonian Manuscript, Vespasian, F. xiii. fol. 21, contains a Letter from Joan Countess of Westmorland, daughter of John of Gaunt, to her brother Henry IV., in favour of Christopher Standish and his family, who had suffered much in the King's service. It is dated from Raby Castle, in the seventh year of his reign. The body of the Letter is in the hand of a scribe; at the bottom in the Countess's own hand is

"Voster tres heumble et obeissant
subjete, si vous plest, J. de W."

It begins "Treshault, tresp[illegible]issant, et tresexcellent souuerain seigneur."

moder to the Quene,[d] and to other Ladyes noble of this realme," and threatens she will continue so to do till she can obtain her right.[e]

In the fourteenth Century, Tracts appear in our Manuscript Libraries, such as in later times would be called "Complete Letter-Writers," both in French and Latin.

One of these for the former language, once belonging to the library of S^t. Edmundsbury Abbey, is preserved in the Harleian Collection, No. 4971, of the time of Edward the Third. The examples of the Letters are in French, but the rubrics and directions are in Latin. After the rules for writing Letters, we have "Expliciunt Regulæ faciendi Literas in Gallicis, et plura alia, *secundum novum usum.*" The first Form is that of a Letter from King Edward the Third to Henry Duke of Lancaster, with the Answer from the Duke; the second is from the Prince to the Earl of Northampton with his answer. The forms then go through all the known gradations of society at that day. An Earl to a Baron, a Baron to a Knight, the Knight to an Esquire, the Esquire to his companion, Merchant to Merchant, Father to Son, Burgess to Burgess, the

[d] Jaquetta of Luxemburgh, Duchess of Bedford, and afterwards Lady Rivers, was by her second marriage the mother of Elizabeth Woodville, Queen of Edward the Fourth. She died May 30th, 12 Edw. IV. A. D. 1472.

[e] MS. Cotton. Brit. Mus. Julius B. XII. fol. 317.

Lord to his Bailiff, Friend to Friend, all with their respective Answers. After these, it is said, "Nunc sciendum de Religiosis." Then follow Forms for an Archbishop to a Baron, a Bishop to a Knight and to an Abbot, an Abbot to an Esquire, a Prior to a Merchant, a Monk to his fellow Monk, a Father to his Son's Master, &c. &c. A third division of the Manuscript begins "Nunc dicendum est de Mulieribus, et primo de Regina ad militem; et finiuntur in eisdem." The Forms immediately follow, of a Letter from Queen Philippa to a Knight, of a Knight in prison to his Lady, from a Lady to her Lawyer, from an Abbess to a Lady, from a Mother to her Son a student, from a Sister to a Sister; all with Answers, and all in French. Letter-writing was evidently becoming more frequent through all the classes of Society.[f]

[f] A similar volume of formulæ, of the time of Richard the Second, will be found in the Harleian volume 3988, clearly designed for English use, as the names both of writer and answerer in every instance are those of English persons. It is preceded in the volume by a Tract to teach the French language. "Ci comence la Maniere de Language que tenseignera bien a droit parler et ecrire doulz Francois, selon l'usage et la coustume de France."

The cultivation of the French language in our Monasteries continued till their Dissolution. Chaucer's reference to the training of the young ladies of noble families in that language by the Nuns of Stratford is well known. Of his "Prioresse" he says,

> "And Frenche she spake full fayre and fetisly,
> After the scole of Stratford atte Bowe,
> For Frenche of Paris was to her unknowe."

A similar remark occurs in a Letter from John Ap Rice, one of

Among the Additional Manuscripts in the British Museum there is another Volume, No. 8167, which gives not only the Forms, but exact instructions for the writing of Latin Letters. This Manuscript likewise contains the Frames of Application and Answer for every class and condition of society. After enumerating the several gradations, it directs that a superior writing to an inferior person is always to put his own name at the head in the nominative case, followed by the inferior's in the dative case: and that the inferior writing to the superior, is always to prefix the superior's name in the dative case, followed by his own in the nominative. If the correspondents were "par pari," equal in rank, as a Knight to a Knight, or a Burgess to a Burgess, they might do either, as politeness, or regard for each other might dictate. In Letters of petition for favors, however, it is directed that the name of the person written to, should always stand first in the dative case, and that he should be designated "pluraliter."

the Visitors of Religious Houses, to Secretary Cromwell, relating to the Monastery of Laycock in Wiltshire. He says, "So it is that we found no notable compertes at Laycock. The House is very clene, well repaired, and well ordered; and one thing I observed worthy th'advertisement there. The Ladies have their Rule, th'Institutes of their Religion, and ceremonies of the same, written in the Frenche tongue, which they understand well, and are very perfitt in the same. Albeit that it varieth from the vulgar Frenche that is now used, and is moche like the Frenche that the Common Lawe is written in." Stat. Pap. Off. Misc. Corresp. xxxv. 55.

The Editor has now little more to do than to express his gratitude to those by whom the present Series has been aided. First and foremost he thanks Sir James Graham, by whose kind permission, through the intervention of S. M. Phillipps, Esq.; he has been admitted to the free use of the numerous Letters to Wolsey and Lord Cromwell, preserved in the State Paper Office. A selection from which forms no uninteresting portion of the present Work.

To his Grace the Duke of Northumberland he yields his most especial thanks for the permission to engrave the memorable double Portrait of Charles the First and the Duke of Gloucester, by Sir Peter Lely, at Sion House; which was allowed to be brought to town for the convenience of the Artist.

To the President and Council of the Society of Antiquaries he returns his thanks for their permission to engrave the Portraits of Edward the Fourth and Richard the Third, bequeathed to them by the late Rev. Thomas Kerrich: and to the Governors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, for similar permission to engrave the Portrait of King Henry the Eighth preserved in their Court Room.

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SPECIMENS

OF

EARLY CORRESPONDENCE

IN ENGLAND

PRIOR TO THE TIME WHEN THE

ENGLISH LANGUAGE WAS USED FOR THAT PURPOSE:

COMPRISING THE PERIOD

FROM

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR TO KING HENRY V

AMONG the Epistolary Documents which throw light upon the Reign of WILLIAM the CONQUEROR, such Letters of Archbishop Lanfranc as relate to his time in England must not go unnoticed. Several of them were printed in D'Achery's Collection of Lanfranc's Works, folio, Paris, 1648; but two or three are yet inedited, with one Letter, of no inelegant character in its composition, from the Conqueror himself to the Pope.

Lanfranc was born at Pavia in 1005: accident caused his admission into the Monastery of Bec; whence, in 1062, William Duke of Normandy drew him to preside over his recently founded Abbey of St. Stephen at Caen. The Conquest of England was achieved a few years after; and in 1070, on the deposition of Stigand, William, who had formed a just estimate of Lanfranc's talents, called him to the See of Canterbury.

In learning, few of the age in which he lived came near him; a treatise on the Real Presence, against Berenger, spread his fame through Europe. To the See of Canterbury he was an especial benefactor: he asserted its right to the primacy of England successfully; recovered many of the possessions of which it had been disseised; and rebuilt its cathedral. It was not with the Conqueror only that he was in favour. He retained the direction of affairs in Church and State in this country to the latest period of his life. It ended May 23rd, 1089.

The manuscript from which the following Letters of Lanfranc have been transcribed is a small quarto, written in a hand of the early part of the twelfth century: not far from Lanfranc's time.

ORIGINAL LETTERS,

ETC.

LETTER I.

Archbishop Lanfranc to Roger, Earl of Hereford, when his fidelity to the Conqueror became suspected.

[MS. COTTON. BRIT. MUS. NERO A. VII. fol. 25.]

*** This is the first Letter which Lanfranc wrote, after he had received intelligence that Earl Roger had engaged in Guader's rebellion. The Saxon Chronicle places this event in 1074, and gives the following statement of the facts.

The Conqueror had given the daughter of William Fitz Osburne in marriage to Earl Ralph. Ralph was a Breton on his mother's side; but his father, whose name was also Ralph, was English, born in Norfolk. It was on this account that the King gave the son the Earldom of Norfolk and Suffolk; and Ralph took his wife to Norwich, where the bridal feast became a source of mischief. Earl Roger and Earl Waltheof attended it, with bishops and abbots, and there they laid their plot to force the King from his throne. This, in short time, was reported to the King in Normandy. He was told that Earl Roger and Earl Ralph were the heads of the conspiracy, that they had enticed a body of Bretons to their side, and had sent to Denmark for a fleet to assist them. Earl Roger departed westward to his earldom, and gathered his people, to the King's annoyance as he thought, but it was to his own; he was checked in his attempt. Earl Ralph also, being in his earldom, would have marched forth with his people; but the men of

the Castles, as well as the people of the land, were against him, and prevented his effecting anything. On this he took ship at Norwich, and escaped; but his wife remained in the castle there, and held it till she had made terms. She then departed from England, with such of her adherents as were willing to go with her.

The King came after this to England, and put Earl Roger in prison. Earl Waltheof had crossed the sea, and asked forgiveness, and proffered a ransom; and the King let him off for a time, but seized him on his return.

* * * * * *

The King was at Westminster during Christmas; and then such Bretons as remained, who had been guests when the bridal feast was held at Norwich, were brought to justice. Some were blinded, and others banished. It was thus that the rebels to King William were subdued.

Lanfranc in the present letter salutes Earl Roger in the King's name; expresses his personal regard for the Earl, and reminds him of the loyalty of his father's life; and acquaints him that the King had commanded that any pleas before the sheriff relating to the Earl's lands should be deferred till his return from Normandy, when he would himself hear them. He lastly asks for a conference with Earl Roger wherever he would name, that he might converse with him upon his own as well as on the King's affairs; requests that the bearer of the letter may receive justice in respect of a horse he alleged to have been taken from him; and trusts that God will give his blessing to the Earl, and dispose his life to goodness.

LANFRANCUS gratia Dei Archiepiscopus dilectissimo filio et amico R. Comiti, salutem et benedictionem. Dominus noster Anglorum Rex salutat vos, et nos omnes, sicut fideles suos, in quibus magnam fiduciam habet, et mandat ut quantum possumus curam habeamus de Castellis suis, ne, quod Deus avertat, inimicis suis tradantur. Propterea rogo vos,

sicut rogare debeo carissimum filium meum, quem, teste Deo, toto corde diligo et servire desidero, et cujus patrem sicut meam animam dilexi, quatinus de hac re et de omni fidelitate domini nostri Regis talem curam geratis, ut a Deo et ab eo et omnibus bonis hominibus laudem habeatis. In memoria vestra semper teneté qualiter gloriosus Pater vester vixit, et quam fideliter Domino suo servivit, et cum quanta strenuitate multa adquisivit, et adquisita magno honore retinuit. Item mandavit Rex ne sui Vicecomites aliqua Placita in vestris terris teneant quoadusque Ipse mare tranſeat, et inter vos et ipsos Vicecomites per semetipsum causas vestras audiat. Libenter vellem vobiscum loqui. De qua re si vobis voluntas est, mandate mihi ad quem locum possimus convenire, et de rebus vestris, ac domini nostri Regis, colloquium habere. Ego vero paratus sum venire vobis obviam quocunque preceperitis. Rogo ut harum Litterarum portitori, nomine Beringerio, justiciam faciatis de illis hominibus super quos clamorem fecit pro equo suo quem furto sibi ablatum dicit. Omnipotens Dominus vos benèdicat, et vitam vestram in omni bonitate disponat.

LETTER II.

Lanfranc's second Letter of exhortation to Earl Roger.

[MS. COTTON. NERO A. VII. fol. 25 b.]

*** The report had spread that Earl Roger was in arms. Lanfranc's grief is deeper than he can express. He again reminds the Earl of his father's high character, and wishes him to imitate his fidelity; entreats him as a son and friend, for God's sake and his own honour, if he has fallen into error, to retract: "Si culpam de tali re habes resipiscas, si vero non habes manifestissimis documentis te non habere ostendas." Whether criminal or not, he still asks an interview, and promises that both in coming and returning the Earl shall find no impediment either from himself or from the King's troops. He again invokes a blessing on the Earl.

LANFRANCUS, gratia Dei Archiepiscopus, dilectissimo filio et amico R. Comiti, salutem et benedictionem. Auditis de te quæ audire nollem, doleo quantum dicere non possum. Neque enim deceret ut filius Willelmi comitis, cujus prudentia et bonitas et erga Dominum suum et omnes amicos suos fidelitas multis terris innotuit, infidelis diceretur, et de perjurio vel fraude aliqua infamiam pateretur. Immo conveniret potius ut filius tanti viri, imitator patris existeret, et omnis bonitatis et fidelitatis aliis exemplum preberet. Propterea rogo te dulcissime fili, et carissime amice, quatinus propter Deum et honorem tuum si culpam de tali re habes resipiscas, si vero non habes manifestissimis documentis te non

habere ostendas. Quicquid vero sit, rogo ut ad me venias, securus proculdubio, quod neque in eundo neque in redeundo per nos vel per regios homines impedimenti aliquid patieris. Omnipotens Dominus te benedicat.

LETTER III.

Lanfranc announces to Earl Roger that he is placed under an Ecclesiastical interdict.

[MS. COTTON. NERO A. VI. fol. 26.]

*** Persuasion having failed, a third Letter announces to Earl Roger that he and his followers are excommunicated, and that the sentence has been proclaimed through England. From the tenor of the latter part, it should seem that, after the defeat of Earls Ralph and Roger, the latter had proffered a repentance.

LANFRANCUS gratia Dei Archiepiscopus dilectissimo quondam filio et amico R. Comiti, bene intelligere et salubrem de anima sua curam habere. Doleo pro te quantum dici non potest, quia teste Deo te amabam, et te amare et tibi servire toto corde desiderabam. Sed quia instinctu demonis et consilio pravorum hominum ea molitus es quæ te moliri minime oportuerat, necessitate coactus, mentem mutavi, et dilectionem non in odium tantum, quantum in rancorem mentis et justam severitatem converti. Legatis tamen et litteris semel et iterum te invitavi ut ad me venires, et consilium animæ tuæ a me sicut a

patre spirituali et amico sincero acciperes, atque a stulto proposito quod conceperas consilio meliore desisteres. Tu vero id facere recusasti; Canonica igitur auctoritate, te et omnes adjutores tuos maledixi et excommunicavi; atque a liminis sanctæ Ecclesiæ et consortio fidelium separavi, et per totam Anglicam terram hoc idem pastorali auctoritate fieri imperavi. Ab hoc vinculo anathematis absolvere non possum nisi misericordiam domini mei Regis requiras, sibique et aliis quorum res injuste predatus es justiciam facias. Mandasti quod ad me venire velles. Hoc ego libentissime vellem, nisi regalem iram pro hac re me incursurum metuerem. Sed legato et litteris pœnitudinem tuam et humilitatem et preces ei intimabo, et te, salva ejus fidelitate prout melius potero, adjuvabo. Interim rogo et moneo ut quiescas, nec aliquid coneris facere unde majorem ejus iram incurras.

LETTER IV.

Lanfranc to the King.—Ralph Guader defeated.

[MS. COTTON. NERO A. VII. fol. 26 b.]

*** In this Letter Lanfranc tells his Sovereign he need not hasten to return. Guader had been defeated; his army was in flight; and the King's troops following up their success.

DOMINO suo Anglorum regi Wil. fidelis suus L.

fidele servitium et fideles orationes. Libenter vos videremus sicut angelum Dei, sed hoc tempore nolumus vos mare transire, quia magnum dedecus nobis faceretis si pro talibus perjuris et latronibus vincendis ad nos veniretis. Rodulfus comes, immo Rodulfus traditor, et totus exercitus ejus in fugam versi sunt, et nostri cum infinita multitudine Francigenarum et Anglorum eos insequuntur, et ante paucos dies, sic mihi mandaverunt principes nostri, aut ipsi perjuri de terra vestra per mare fugient, aut eos vivos vel mortuos habebunt. Cetera per hunc monachum vobis mando, cui bene credere potestis, quia fidelitatem mihi fecit. Omnipotens Dominus vos benedicat.

LETTER V.

Archbishop Lanfranc's second Letter to the King.—The Castle of Norwich surrendered.—The Rebellion at an end.

[MS. COTTON. NERO A. VII. fol. 26 b.]

*** This is probably the earliest specimen which English History can produce of a military despatch.

GLORIOSISSIMO domino suo Anglorum Regi W. fidelis suus L. fidele servitium cum orationibus. Gloria in excelsis Deo, cujus misericordia regnum vestrum purgatum est spurcicia Britonum. Castrum Noruuich redditum est, et Britones qui in eo erant

et terras in Anglica terra habebant, concessa eis vita cum membris. Juraverunt quod infra quadraginta dies de regno vestro exirent, et amplius sine vestra licentia in illud non introirent. Qui vero Rodulfo traditori et sociis ejus sine terra pro solidis servierunt, ad hoc faciendum unius mensis spacium multis precibus impetraverunt. In ipso castro remanserunt Episcopus Gausfridus, W. de Warenna, Robertus Malet, et trecenti loricati cum eis, cum balistariis et artificibus machinarum multis. Omnis strepitus bellorum, miserante Deo, in Anglica terra quievit. Omnipotens Dominus vos benedicat.

LETTER VI.

Lanfranc to Walcher Bishop of Durham, announcing that the Kingdom was restored to tranquillity.

[MS. COTTON. NERO A. VII. fol. 27.]

*** Walcher, or Walcherus, Bishop of Durham, consecrated in 1072, was a native of Lorraine, and a great favourite with the Conqueror, who, after the execution of Waltheof, gave him the Earldom of Northumberland in addition to his bishoprick. He is supposed to have been the first who, either by grant or tacit permission, assumed the Palatine powers of the See. The insecurity of the Northern province and the vicinity of Scotland were sufficient motives both for delegating and continuing so extensive a privilege. Walcher was slain at Gateshead, at a Council, in the month of May 1080, by the Northumbrians, at the instigation of that memorable piece of advice:

"Short rede, good rede, slay ye the Bishop."

William the Conqueror, in revenging his death, spared neither age nor sex.

LANFRANCUS peccator et indignus antistes venerabili fratri et co-episcopo Walchero salutem. Letatus sum in his quæ dicta sunt mihi a vobis. Pacem vos vestris litteris habere didicimus quàm procul a nobis esse multis multorum relationibus territi credebamus. Nos vero expulsis Britonibus, et sedatis omnibus bellis, in tanta tranquillitate vivimus, ut postquàm Rex mare transiit tranquillius nos vixisse nequaquam meminerimus. Res domini nostri Regis in summa prosperitate esse, et eum ad presens ad nos transire certissime sciatis. Dani ut Rex nobis mandavit revera veniunt. Castrum itaque vestrum, et hominibus, et armis, et alimentis vigilanti cura muniri facite. Omnipotens autem Dominus ab omni malo vos defendat.

From this, as well as from one of the preceding Letters to Earl Roger, it is evident that the Conqueror relied mainly on the strength of his castles for the preservation of his power in England. It was the want of such places that had facilitated his success, and the multiplication of them gave him the strongest assurance that he would be able permanently to overawe his English subjects; "Castrum itaque vestrum, et hominibus, et armis, et alimentis vigilanti cura muniri facite:" and in the first Letter to Earl Roger, "Mandat (Rex) ut quantum possimus curam habeamus de Castellis suis, ne quod Deus avertat inimicis suis tradantur."

The castles of the Conqueror's own time were those of Canterbury, Tunbridge, and Rochester, in Kent; Hastings, Arundel, Brembre, and Lewes, in Sussex; (Pevensey had been erected in the Roman times;) in Hampshire, Carisbrooke in the Isle of Wight; Walingford and Windsor, in Berkshire; Wareham, in Dorsetshire; Exeter and Okehampton, in Devonshire; Dunhevet and Trematon, in Cornwall; Gloucester and Berkeley, in Gloucester-

shire; Chepstow, in Monmouthshire; Dudley, in Worcestershire; in Herefordshire, Wigmore, Clifford, and Ewias; the castles of Cambridge, Huntingdon, and Lincoln; Rockingham, in Northamptonshire; Warwick; Tutbury, in Staffordshire; Shrewsbury and Montgomery castles, in Shropshire; Ruthlan, in Flintshire; Penvardant, between the Ribble and the Mersey; the Peak castle in Derbyshire; two castles at York; Pomfret and Richmond castles; Clitheroe; Raleygh, in Essex; Norwich castle; and Eye, in Suffolk.

Of these, nearly the whole of which are mentioned in the Domesday Survey, eight are known, either on the authority of that record or of our old historians, to have been built by the Conqueror himself; ten are entered as erected by greater barons, and one by an under-tenant. Eleven more, of whose builders we have no particular account, are noticed in the Survey, either expressly or by inference, as *new*.

It is singular that the ruins which are now remaining of almost all these castles have preserved one feature of uniformity. They are each distinguished by a mount and keep, marking the peculiar style of architecture introduced into our castellated fortifications by the Conqueror and his adherents.

The castles of Dovor, Nottingham, and Durham, known to have been built by the Conqueror, with the White Tower in the Tower of London, are unnoticed in the Domesday Survey.

LETTER VII.

Archbishop Lanfranc to Remigius Bishop of Dorchester: that the King heeds not the detractors of the Bishop.

[MS. COTTON. NERO A. VII. fol. 27.]

*** Remigius de Fescamp was the last Bishop of Dorchester, and the translator of that See to Lincoln. He succeeded Wlfin, who died in 1067. The removal to Lincoln met with much obstruction, and was not effected earlier than the year 1085. The building of the cathedral was not completed till 1092; and Remigius died a few days before its consecration. He was one of the Conqueror's

Commissioners for the formation of the Domesday Survey. To what particular circumstances the following Letter relates, the Editor has not discovered; but it is clear that the Bishop had busy enemies.

Matthew Paris says, "Erat quidem Remigius statura parvus, sed animo magnus, colore fuscus, sed non operibus, de Regia quoque proditione aliquando accusatus, sed famulus suus igniti judicio ferri dominum purgans, regio amori restituit, et maculam dedecoris pontificalis detersit. Hoc autem authore, hoc tempore, et his de causis incepta est Ecclesia moderna Lincolniensis."

LANFRANCUS gratia Dei archiepiscopus dilecto fratri et amico Remigio salutem. Cum multi de te multa perversa dicant, et perpauci sint qui verba detrahentium ingenita liberalitate contradicant, scias tamen dominum nostrum Regem nullius detrahentis contra te verba recipere, sed potius contra omnes maledicos regali te auctoritate defendere. Itaque expedit ei si prope es et licitum habes quatinus ad me venias, et ea quæ pro sui prolixitate breviter scribi non possunt, ore ad os audias.

LETTER VIII.

Lanfranc to Pope Gregory. He gives due, but not unlimited, obedience to the See of Rome. The King, as well by word of mouth to the Pope's Legate, as by his letters, will answer the Pope's remonstrance.

[MS. COTTON. NERO A. VII. fol. 27 b.]

REVERENDO sanctæ universalis Ecclesiæ summo

pastori Gregorio, peccator. et indignus antistes L. servitium cum debita subjectione. Litteras Excellentiæ vestræ per Hubertum sacri palatii vestri. subdiaconum porrectas, qua decuit humilitate, suscepi. In quarum fere omni contextu paterna me dulcedine reprehendere studuistis, quod in Episcopali honore positus sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam, vosque ob ejus reverentiam, minus diligam quam ante ipsius honoris susceptionem diligere quondam solebam, presertim cum apostolicæ sedis auctoritate ad ipsius apicem honoris me pervenisse non dubitem, nec quenquam dubitare existimo. Et quidem venerande pater, verbis tuis calumniam ingerere hec volo nec debeo. Ego tamen teste conscientia mea in memetipso intelligere non possum quod vel corporalis absentia vel locorum tanta intercapedo aut ipsa qualiscunque honorum sullimitas in hac parte vindicare sibi quicquam prevaleat; quin mens mea preceptis vestris in omnibus et per omnia secundum Canonum precepta subjaceat, et si præstante Deo presens presenti loqui quandoque valerem me amando crevisse. Vos vero quod pace vestra dictum sit a pristino amore nonnulla ex parte defecisse, non tam verbis quam rebus ipsis ostenderem. Verba legationis vestræ cum prefato legato vestro prout melius potui domino meo Regi suggessi, suasi, sed non persuasi. Cur autem voluntati vestræ omnifariam non assenserit, ipsemet vobis tam verbis quam litteris innotescit.

From this Letter it is clear that Lanfranc's reverence to the Church of Rome was suspected by his Holiness. What William's words to the Legate were, we know not: but his Letter, which follows, marks the Conqueror's character.

LETTER IX.

William the Conqueror to Pope Gregory the Seventh, who had claimed him as a feudatory of the Papal See.

[MS. COTTON. NERO A. VII. fol. 28.]

*** When William projected the invasion of England, Pope Alexander the Second blessed the expedition, and sent him a consecrated banner.[a] It was probably on this account that Gregory the Seventh, his immediate successor, claimed William as a feudatory. The answer was laconic, "Fidelitatem facere nolui nec volo, quia nec ego promisi, nec antecessores meos antecessoribus tuis id fecisse comperio." That which his predecessors had not done to former Popes, he would not do.

The payment of Peter-pence to the See of Rome was a different consideration. The earliest notice of this tax goes back to the time of the Heptarchy. While William was in Normandy, the payment had been deferred. The King had come back. What had been received should be sent by the Pope's ambassador at his return. The rest through Lanfranc's means, as opportunity might offer.

The payment of Peter-pence, though stopped at several periods, did not finally cease till the Reformation.

EXCELLENTISSIMO sanctæ Ecclesiæ pastori GR. gratia Dei Anglorum rex et dux Normannorum W. salutem cum amicitia. Hubertus legatus tuus reli-

[a] Alexandrum papam consuluit, cui jus quod in regno Angliæ sibi competeret, demonstravit. Unde dux vexillo cum sanctorum reliquiis ab ipso Papa recepto, Principes Normanniæ convocavit, a quibus ad Angliam conquirendam auxilium petiit et favorem." Twysd. Script. Chron. Jo. Bromton, col. 958.

giose pater ad me veniens ex tua parte me admonuit quatinus tibi et successoribus tuis fidelitatem facerem, et de pecunia quam antecessores mei ad Romanam Ecclesiam mittere solebant melius cogitarem. Unum admisi, alterum non admisi; fidelitatem facere nolui nec volo, quia nec ego promisi nec antecessores meos antecessoribus tuis id fecisse comperio. Pecunia tribus ferme annis, in Galliis me agente, negligenter collecta est, nunc vero divina misericordia, me in regnum meum reverso, quod collectum est per prefatum legatum mittitur, et quod reliquum est per legatos Lanfranci archiepiscopi, fidelis nostri, cum opportunum fuerit transmittetur. Orate pro nobis et pro statu regni nostri, quia antecessores vestros dileximus, et vos præ omnibus sincere diligere et obedienter audire desideramus.

LETTER X.

Lanfranc to Odo Bishop of Baieux, excusing the attendance of Abbot Baldwin at a plea, which, as the King's Justiciary, the Bishop was about to hold.

[MS. COTTON. NERO A. VII. fol. 30.]

*** Baldwin, Abbot of St. Edmundsbury, the chief subject of this Letter, was a person held no less in estimation by the Conqueror than by Edward the Confessor. He was originally a monk of the Abbey of St. Denis near Paris, whence he was sent for to England in 1056, to preside over the Priory of Deerhurst in Glou-

cestershire, which Edward the Confessor had just refounded, and made a cell to the foreign monastery. In 1065 he was chosen Abbot of St. Edmundsbury in Suffolk, where, beside the general care which he took of the monastery, he was pre-eminent for his skill in medicine. The Annals of St. Edmundsbury (Harl. MS. 447) style him "Medicus Edwardi Regis;" and the present Letter shews, that in the same capacity his skill was relied upon by the Conqueror. The King advised Lanfranc in his sickness to go to Fakenham to be near the Abbot, and personally enjoined the latter to exert his skill in effecting Lanfranc's cure. Abbot Baldwin died in 1097, above eighty years of age. This Letter must have been written before 1084, as after that time Odo, to whom it is addressed, was no longer the King's Justiciary.

LANFRANCUS indignus antistes, O. digno antistiti salutem cum orationibus. Ad Frachenam villam nostram quæ Cœnobio Sancti Edmundi proxima est veni, in qua, Rege precipiente et corporis mei infirmitate urgente, aliquam accipere Medicinam disposui; pro qua re Abbatem Baldvinum detineo, cui Rex curandæ hujus egritudinis curam suo ore injunxit, qui contra Ricardum ad hunc conventum de quibusdam querelis placitum accepit. Sed abbate apud vos et apud eum de hoc Itinere excusato, causam ipsam dilatam esse volo et rogo quoad usque alio tempore in unum conveniamus, et pari studio et pariter ipsum negotium sine aliquo partium favore definiamus. Omnipotens Dominus vos benedicat, et in omnibus vestris negotiis promptus vobis auxiliator assistat.

LETTER XI.

King Henry the First to Archbishop Anselm then abroad, upon his accession to the throne, and on the unwillingness with which he had been consecrated King by other hands than those of the Primate.

A. D. 1100.

[MS. COTTON. CLAUD. A. XI. fol. 161.]

*** The manuscript from which the following Letter has been taken, is one of great curiosity. It was a legacy from John de Grandison, Bishop of Exeter, to the Archbishops of Canterbury, that they might keep him in remembrance. A leaf, after the table of contents, holds the following Inscription as a sort of title:

"Registrum Epistolæ[a] beati Anselmi Cantuar. Archiepscopi.

"J. de G. Ex.

"Do et lego cui cunque Archiepiscopo Cant. ut memor sit miseri Johannis de Grandissono Exoniens. qui hoc manu sua scripsit.

"Hic infra potest videri status tam Ecclesiæ quam Regni Angliæ, utinam renovetur, per Christum Dominum nostrum qui vivit et regnat Rex Regum, et summus Sacerdos et Pontifex in eternum. Amen. Amen.

"Anno Domini M°.CCC°. lx°iiij°. et ætatis meæ lxx°iij°. et officii mei xxx°viij°. Mense Aprili die nono."

A hand-writing of equal age, on the reverse of the first leaf, says,

"Sciendum quod beatus Anselmus in Epistolis, vel aliis libris suis, non est multum Rethoricus sicut beatus Gregorius, sed sententiosus et logicus, prout legentibus et intelligentibus satis patet."

Archbishop Cranmer's signature occurs upon the leaf which contains the first Letter. How the manuscript got from Lambeth into Sir Robert Cotton's Library does not appear. It is now the Cottonian Manuscript CLAUDIUS A. XI. The title-page may be considered as one of our oldest ecclesiastical autographs.

William Rufus was slain on Thursday, the day after Lammas day, and buried on the Friday. "After he was buried," says the

[a] *sc.* Epistolarum.

Saxon Chronicle, "the statesmen who were nigh at hand chose his brother King; and on the Sunday following, before the altar at Westminster, he promised God and the people to annul all the unrighteous acts which had taken place in his brother's time, and to maintain the best laws which had stood in any King's day before him. And after this, Maurice Bishop of London consecrated him King; and all in the land submitted to him, and took their oaths, and became his men. Then, before Michaelmas, came the Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury hither, King Henry, by the advice of his ministers, having sent after him; for he had gone away on account of the great wrongs that had been done unto him by King William."

The Letter before the reader was that which was sent to Anselm. Henry would gladly have been consecrated by him, but feared to wait. He pleads the necessity which existed for proceeding quickly to the coronation. "Necessitas fuit talis quia inimici insurgere volebant contra me et populum quantum habeo ad gubernandum; et ideo barones mei et idem populus noluerunt amplius eam protelari." Malmesbury assures us that dissensions had arisen among the nobility. It is remarkable that no allusion should have been made in this Letter either to the manner or to the suddenness of Rufus's death.

Henricus Dei gratia Rex Anglorum piissimo patri suo spirituali, Anselmo Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, salutem et omnis amitiæ[a] exhibitionem. Scias pater karissime quod frater meus rex Guillermus mortuus est, et ego nutu Dei a clero et a populo Angliæ electus, et quamvis invitus, propter absentiam tui, Rex jam consecratus, requiro te sicut patrem cum omni populo Angliæ quatinus mihi filio tuo et eidem populo, cujus tibi animarum cura commissa est, quam citius poteris venias ad consulendum. Meipsum quidem ac totius regni Angliæ populum tuo eorumque consilio qui tecum mihi consulere de-

[a] *sc.* amicitiæ.

bent committo. Et precor ne tibi displiceat quod regiam benedictionem absque te suscepi, de quo si fieri posset libentius eam susciperem quam de alio aliquo. Sed necessitas fuit talis quia inimici insurgere volebant contra me et populum quantum habeo ad gubernandum, et ideo Barones mei et idem populus noluerunt amplius protelari. Hac itaque occasione a tuis vicariis illam accepi. Misissem quidem ad te a meo latere aliquos, per quos tibi de mea pecunia destinassem, sed pro morte fratris mei circa regnum Angliæ ita totus orbis concussus est, ut nullatenus ad te salubriter pervenire potuissent. Laudo ergo et mando ne per Normanniam venias, sed per Witsand, et ego apud Doveram obviam habebo tibi barones meos, et pecuniam ad te recipiendum, et invenies Deo juvante unde bene persolvere poteris quicquid mutuo accepisti. Festina igitur Pater venire, ne mater nostra Cantuariensis Ecclesia diu fluctuans et desolata, causa tui amplius animarum sustineat detrimenta. Teste Girardo episcopo, et Guillermo Wintoniensi episcopo electo, et Guillermo de Warelwast, et Comite Henrico, et Roberto filio Haimonis, et Hamone Dapifero, et aliis tam Episcopis quam Baronibus meis. Valete.

Henry enjoins Anselm not to come through Normandy, but to pass by WISSANT, and he would himself be ready to receive him at Dover.

In early times, the passage from Dover to France seems always

to have been made by this port. The Annals of St. Edmundsbury, already quoted, speaking of Eustace Earl of Boulogne, in the time of Edward the Confessor, say, "Eustachius ergo transfretato mari de *Witsand* in Doveram, regem Edwardum, nescio qua de causa, adiit." The Saxon Chronicle, under the year 1095, says, "In this year was the King William the first four days of Christmas at Whitsand, and after the fourth day came hither and landed at Dover." (edit. Ingr. p. 310.) Simeon of Durham, when Henry the First married his daughter Matilda to Henry the Emperor, A. D. 1110, says, "Misit eam a Dovere usque ad Witsand in initio Quadragesimæ, quod fuit iiij. idus Aprilis." (Sim. Dunelm. Script. Twysd. x. col. 232.) Matthew Paris, in the "Tabula itineraria ab urbe Londinum ad Neapolin, et extremitatem Apuleæ," prefixed to the manuscript copies of his History, draws it out in the illuminations as the then regular point of transit. In his History also, under the year 1251, he says, "diebus insuper sub eisdem, Comes Legriæ Symon cum uxore ejus, adducens secum Guidonem de Lizinnum Comitem, domini Regis fratrem uterinum tertium, navem ascendit apud *Witsand*, ut in Angliam transfretaret. Et cum prospere velificans, fere portum attigisset, mutato vento in contrarium cum magno periculo repulsus, apud *Witsand* est appulsus." (Mat. Paris. edit. 1684, p. 714.) Simon de Montefort also transported horses and arms by way of *Witsand*, when he gathered forces to oppose Henry III. in England, in 1260. (Rym. Fœd. new ed. i. 396.) In the Wardrobe Account, 28th Edw. I. p. 56, a payment is set down to Reynold Arnaldi going to the Earl of Savoy on the King's business, "Et custuma soluta per eandem tam apud Dovorr quam apud *Whitsand*, eundo et redeundo, sicut patet per particulos," &c. The Patent 17 Edw. II. p. 2. m. 29, entitled "Confirmatio Concordiæ factæ inter Barones de Dovorr pro proficuo passagii inter Dovorr et *Witsand* capiendo," is the settlement of the Constable of Dover Castle and the co-Barons of Dover as to the port-dues to be paid by the vessels called "Passagers," in crossing to and from Witsand. They were evidently the ordinary vessels of passage from the one port to the other, and, from one paragraph in the instrument, seem usually to have carried not more than twelve persons at a time. As late as the 5th of Edw. III. we find *Witsand* mentioned as the place of disembarkation in the Compotus Egidii de Ispana. (Archæolog. vol. xxvii. p. 288.)

When Calais fell into the hands of the English, and Edward the

Third made that place an integral part of his dominions, by an instrument dated 4th April, 1348, he changed the route, and made the passage to Picardy by way of Calais imperative. (Rym. Fœd. iii. p. 158.)

Blount in his Tenures, last edit. p. 76, says, "Solomon de Campis holds certain lands called Coperland and Atterton, in the county of Kent, of our Lord the King in capite, by the serjeanty and service of holding the head of our said Lord the King between Dover and *Witsand*, as often as he should happen to pass over sea between those ports." This was in the time of Edward the First. (Plac. Coron. 21 Edw. I. rot. 45. Kanc.)

There can be little doubt but that Wissant was the Portus Iccius of Cæsar, and that, from his time to the capture of Calais, it was the only regular port of approach from Dover.

LETTER XII.

Henry Bishop of Winchester to the Prior and Convent of Worcester, threatening them, in the absence of the Bishop, with an interdict, unless the tax of the Peter-pence for the church and diocese of Worcester be paid within fifteen days.

[MS. COTTON. VESPAS. E. IV. fol. 203 b.]

*** Henry Bishop of Winchester, half-brother of Stephen, became Papal Legate in 1136: about, or soon after which this letter must be dated. He died August the 6th, 1171.

HENRICUS Dei gratia Wintonensis Episcopus et apostolicæ Sedis Legatus Priori et Conventui Sanctæ Mariæ Wigornensis Ecclesiæ salutem. Miramur multum quod denarium Sancti Petri de Ecclesia et Parrochia Ecclesiæ vestræ nondum reddistis, cum ab

omnibus Episcopis secundum condictum eis terminum jam eum receperimus. Unde mandamus vobis et apostolica auctoritate precipimus ut, visis Litteris istis, infra xv. dies eundem beati Petri denarium Wintoniæ mittatis, aut ne exinde in Ecclesia vel Parrochia vestra divinum fiat officium interdicimus, excepto viatico et baptisterio. Episcopo enim vestro et Archidiacono absentibus non habemus nisi vos quibus de hac re scribere debeamus. Valete.

LETTER XIII.

Archbishop Becket to Ala Countess of Warren, upon the detention from the Monks of Lewes of the tithes arising from the lands of her dower.

[MS. COTTON. VESPAS. F. XIII. fol. 3. *Orig.* on vellum.]

*** Ala Countess of Warren, daughter of the Earl of Belesme, was wife of William the third Earl of Warren of the name, who died in the Holy Land on the ides of January, 1148, leaving an infant daughter his heiress.

The Priory of Lewes was of the foundation of the Earls of Warren, who for three generations had confirmed to the Monks of that house the tithes of their lands in Sussex generally. Ala, after her husband's death, refused the payment of those which arose from the lands of her dower. The Monks, after long remonstrance, made an appeal to Becket, who addressed the following Letter of admonition to her. Cruel indeed, and next to sacrilege would it be, he says, if that which has been once offered on the altar is to be reclaimed and turned to secular use.

THOMAS Dei gratia Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus,

Anglorum primas et apostolicæ sedis Legatus, dilectæ filiæ Alæ Comitissæ Warennæ salutem. Pervenit ad aures nostras religiosorum fratrum Lewensis Ecclesiæ Monachorum stupenda queremonia, quod cum ipsi ex antiqua donatione Comitum Warennæ, videlicet avi et patris Willelmi viri tui, et sui ipsius, etiam antequam dotem tuam consecuta fuisses, de omnibus dominiis Comitis decimationem denariorum semper inconcusse, tanquam Ecclesiæ suæ dotem possederint, Tu post perceptam dotis tuæ investituram eisdem fratribus decimationem quæ ad dotem tuam spectabat subtraxeris. Quod, si ita est vehementer admiramur, cum eorum quæ Deo et Ecclesiæ suæ in elemosinam collata esse noscuntur nihil Doti tuæ vendicare debeas nec possis. Crudele enim est et sacrilegio proximum quod super divinum Altare semel devote oblatum est iterum repetere et ad secularia transferre. Perinde tibi salubriter consulimus, et in Domino admonemus, quatinus sicut vis jus tuum tibi a Deo libere conservari, ita jus suum cum integritate Monachis relinquas, et nullatenus datam eis denariorum decimationem dotis tuæ retineas: alioquin eis in justitia deesse non poterimus, cujus debitores omnibus existimus.[a] Valete.

*** Becket became Archbishop in 1162, between which year and 1174 this Letter must have been written. In all probability the Countess was unmoved by it to the restoration of the tithes. The Monks of Lewes were minute in chronicling the charters of their

[a] *Sic in orig.*

benefactors; and no deed of gift or privilege whatever from the Countess Ala is recorded in the Register of the Priory. The only notice of her states simply who she was; that she died on the 4th of the ides of December 1174, twenty-six years after her husband, and that it was not known where she was interred.[a]

LETTER XIV.

William de Avrenches and Cecily his mother to William Earl of Warren, William de Albini Earl of Sussex, and Gilbert de Aquila, to be witnesses to a deed.

[FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE POSSESSION OF T. D. HARDY, ESQ.]

*** The following short Letter, of the reign of John, is interesting, as illustrative of the mode by which the names of witnesses were sometimes obtained to be affixed to deeds.

William de Abrincis, or Averenches, one of the rebellious Barons, became a prisoner, in the 17th year of John, in Rochester Castle, whence he was conveyed to Corfe Castle in Dorsetshire. The King subsequently gave him his liberty upon condition of paying a ransom; to raise money in part of payment of which, he and his mother Cecily sold the manor of Sutton in Sussex, near Seaford, to the Abbot and Monks of Robertsbridge. Previous to the deed of transfer being drawn up, they affixed their seals to this Letter, in which they entreat William Earl of Warren, William de Albini Earl of Sussex, and Gilbert de Aquila, as those persons could not be present at the publication of the deed, to allow their names to stand as witnesses to it. William de Avrenches' seal, and his mother's, of green wax, are appended to the original.

KARISSIMIS Dominis suis, domino Willelmo Comiti Warenniæ, domino Willelmo de Aubenei Comiti Sus-

[a] "Domina Ala Comitissa Surregiæ, filia Comitis de Belesme et uxor Willielmi tertii. Obiit quarto Idus Decembris Anno gratiæ Millesimo clxxiiij. et anno xxvi^to post virum suum. Ubi sepulta est nescitur." Reg. Priorat. Lewes. fol. 107 b.

sexiæ, domino Gileberto de Aquila, Willelmus de Averenchis et Cecilia mater ejusdem, salutem. Quia ad Cartas faciendas inter nos et Abbatem et Monachos de Ponte Roberti, super Manerio de Suttona juxta Sefordiam, presentiam vestram habere non potuimus, precamur et obnixe rogamus ut de Cartis nostris in quibus ob securitatem obtinendam testes estis ascripti, testes esse velitis. Valete.

LETTER XV.

William de Potern to the Prior of Bath, with an Extract from the Domesday Survey.

[MS. REG. MUS. BRIT. 6 C. XI.]

*** William de Potern probably had the custody of, or at all events was solicited by the Prior of Bath to examine the Record of Domesday, to ascertain the terms in which the Town of Bath was described. Robert, the Prior to whom this Letter is addressed, held that office from the year 1198 to the year 1223. The manuscript, on a leaf at the end of which it occurs, is preserved in the old Royal Collection at the Museum, and is an ancient volume of St. Jerome's and St. Austin's Letters. Potern's Letter itself is in a hand of the early part of the thirteenth century. It adds another to the various proofs already adduced, that Latin was the chief language in which letters of business of every kind were at that time most usually endited.

KARISSIMO Domino R. Priori Bath. Will. de Poterna salutem. Inveni in Libro de Domesdai quod Villa de Bath cum Estona solebat geldare cum Sira de Sumersett pro xx. hidis. Sunt etiam in eadem

villa XL. mesuagia quæ reddunt per annum iiij. libr. Sunt ibidem VII. domus vaciæ et una domus quam quidam interpres tenet pro duobus solidis. Barones etiam Provinciæ habent in eadem Villa L. sol. Valete.

LETTER XVI.

King Edward the First to the Prior and Prioress of Alvingham in Lincolnshire, to admit one or more of the children of Llewellin ap Griffith late Prince of Wales, or of his brother David, into their House.

[FROM THE REGISTER OF ALVINGHAM PRIORY, MS. BIBL. BODL.]

*** The Monastery of Alvingham was of the Sempringham or Gilbertine Order, many of the houses of which were founded for Religious of both sexes; who, though they lived under one roof, had no ordinary communication with each other. Alvingham was one of these.

In the following Letter of privy-seal, the King sends to the Prior and Prioress greeting. He states that, although in looking back to times past, and closely into the merits of individuals, he did not feel bound to do much for the children of Llewellin ap Griffith and of his brother David (the treachery of both of whom was fresh in all men's recollection); yet, having the fear of God before him, and pitying their age and sex, lest the innocent should seem to suffer punishment for the crimes of the wicked, for charity's sake, he intends to provide for them advantageously. Whence, trusting in the devotion of the joint Convent, and looking to the conversation of their Order, he with earnest prayers desires them to admit into it and to the Habit of their house one or more of the sons of the said Llewellin or of David his brother, whom or whichever he might think fit to be named to them; requesting that they will write back before the ensuing feast of the Nativity, or at least on that day, to say what further shall be done. Dated at Ludlow in the eleventh year of his reign, A.D. 1283.

EDWARDUS Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, &c. dilectis sibi in Christo Priori de Alvingham et Priorissæ et eorum Conventibus salutem. Licet si ad retroacta convertamus intuitum mentis nostræ et quorundam merita interius advertamus liberis Læuelini filii Griffini quondam Principis Walliæ et Davidis fratris ejus, quorum perfidia apud omnes retinetur, recenter et memoriter recitatur, subvenire, modicum teneamur; Dominum tamen habentes præ oculis, ipsorum etiam compatientes sexui et ætati, ne forsan innocentes et inscii iniquitates et scelera impiorum luere videantur; ipsis, caritatis intuitu duximus salubriter providere; quocirca, de vestra devotione confisi vestrique conversationem Ordinis præcipue contemplantes dilectionem vestram votivis precibus exoramus, quatinus aliquem vel aliquos de filiis dictorum Lewelini et Davidis fratris sui, quem vel quos vobis duxerimus nominandos, velitis admittere ad Ordinem et habitum domus vestræ, et quid de hoc duxeritis faciendum nobis citra festum Natalis Domini, vel saltem in ipso festo, per vestras literas rescribatis. Datum sub privato sigillo nostro apud Ludelow xj°. die Novembris Anno regni nostri undecimo.

*** What was the result of this correspondence, or what became of the children of Llewellin and his brother, is unrecorded in the Register of Alvingham. Six years afterwards, however, we have an instrument "De statu et custodia filiarum Lewelini filii Griffini et David fratris ejus, sub habitu moniali in Ordine de Sempringe-

ham commorantium." Pat. 17 Edw. I. m. 9. in Turr. Lond. A.D. 1289. It is as follows:

"Rex dilecto et fideli suo Thomæ de Normanvill, salutem. Volentes super statu et custodiâ filiarum Leulini filii Griffini et David fratris ejus, sub habitu moniali in Ordine de Sempringeham commorantium per vos certiorari ad plenum. Vobis mandamus, quod, ad loca in quibus predictæ filiæ commorantur, personaliter accedentes, ipsas videatis: et facta, tam super statu quam custodiâ earumdem, diligenti examinatione, nos inde, in proximo Parliamento nostro, distinctè et apertè reddatis in omnibus certiores: et hoc omnibus, quorum interest, scire volumus per presentes. In cujus, &c. Teste Rege, apud Ralegh, ij° die Septembris."

In the 10th of Edw. II., 1317, we find Wenciliana, a daughter of Llewellin, spoken of in a Letter to the Pope, as a nun of Sempringham. (Rym. Fœd. ii. 313. Rot. Rom. & Franc. 10 Edw. II. in Turr. Lond.) Edward III. in the first year of his reign granted her a pension of twenty pounds a year as Wenthliana the daughter of Llewellin, still a nun there, payable at Easter and Michaelmas in equal portions, by the Sheriff of Lincolnshire, out of the proceeds of the county. (Rym. Fœd. ii. 719. Claus. 1 Edw. III. p. 3. m. 14. in Turr. Lond.) 1327. The same sum was ordered to be paid in 1328, the 2d Edw. III.; the instrument tested by the King himself at Sempryngham, 4th April. (Ibid. p. 738. Claus. 2 Edw. III. m. 31. in Turr. Lond.) The Sheriff's Account upon the Chancellor's or Pipe Roll, 2 Edw. III., refers to this pension as first granted by King Edw. II.

LETTER XVII.

Letter on the Preparations made by France in favour of David Bruce, A.D. 1336.

[MS. COTTON. VESPAS. F. VII. fol. 10 b. *Orig.* on vellum.]

*** Neither this nor the succeeding Letter have any claim upon the reader's notice for their elegance; nor entirely for grammatical construction: but both are important to the illustration of our history. One details the rumours which determined Edward the Third to make his last expedition against Scotland. The other gives what

has hitherto been unknown, the journal of his march and ravages. Both are evidently addressed to the same person, and both are in the same hand-writing; but neither the name of the writer, nor that of the person to whom they were addressed, are apparent in the letters. Edward the Third, at this time, had two chief ministers; John Stratford, archbishop of Canterbury, his chancellor, and John Bourchier, bishop of Lincoln, his treasurer. Walsingham, at the close of the events of 1335, tells us that the King kept the archbishop of Canterbury constantly near him.[a] The treasurer, who was at a distance, was in all probability the person to whom they were addressed. The opening of the second Letter, "Reverendissime Pater, et Domine peramande," shews at all events that that Letter was addressed to a churchman. Both are dated from York; one, June 19th, the other the 3d of August, 1336. The second Letter contains the detail of the King's exploits as it had come to the Queen at Pontefract on the day preceding.

The opening of the present Letter refers to the interview between Philip de Valois and Pope Benedict XII. at Avignon, when they at least pretended to project a crusade against the Turk.

Rex Franciæ fuit in Curia in medio Quadragesimæ, et continuit ita secrete cum Papa quod nullus percipere potuit eorum consilium; sed ad instantiam Regis Papa concessit gratiam omnibus tunc in Curia existentibus. Et postea, in Pascha, Rex stetit Lugduni, et ibidem habuit tractatum cum Scotis, et promisit eis totum posse suum ad conducendum David de Bruys in Scotia; ita quod nautarum dicunt sunt apud Harflour et Lure in Normannia ij^{M}, et ccc. naves in quarum quibuslibet secundum majus et minus continetur hominum armatorum xj^{xx}. Et sunt xxx. Galeæ ferreæ roboratæ, ita quod nulla navis

[a] "Rex autem non permisit Joannem archiepiscopum Cantuariensem ab ipso longe distari." Walsingh. Hist. p. 119.

possit eis resistere. Insuper apud Lure peritius fuerunt compositæ balistæ, et scutellata ad cooperiendum tres armatos, et sunt Balistarii circa x. millia, et Bombatia alia cum platis ferreis circa xiiij^{Mil}. quæ vix penetrari possint per sagittas, lanceas, vel alias armaturas. Insuper, die annunciationis beatæ Mariæ Virginis, naves plenæ armaturis ductæ fuerunt in Normannia ij^{cc}, et v. dolia quarellorum. Et sunt conductores Regis Franciæ ordinati domino Constabulario Franciæ, videlicet dominus Mathæus de Try, dominus Thomas de Bertram, ductores in mari, et Johannes le Mir' de Haukeneys Hereuaniæ. Cives Parisienses proponunt quod una pars exercitus arripiet iter versus Portsmouth, et alia pars versus Scotiam, applicando in loco ubi Balliolf applicuit. Ductores de Scotia versus Angliam sunt dominus Alexander de Seton, Magister Thomas de Twynam clericus, Johannes de Swecia armiger. Assignati sunt dies arripiendi a die Sanctæ Crucis in Mayo proxime transacto.

Insuper omnes cissores subtiles Parisienses steterunt apud Lur' per xv. septimanas et sex dies ad faciendum vexilla, tam Anglicana quam Gallicana, et multi eorum fuerunt Anglici, Hibernici, et Gallici, quantum explorari poterint vel dixerint. Insuper multi venerunt de Almanniis, Brabancis, Frandanciis, et soldarii ad Regem Franciæ. Assignatus fuit dies et locus ubi exercitus Scotorum obviaret

exercitum Regis Franciæ, et sunt ut estimatur cum convenerint xl. mil. armatorum; et die Sancti Marcæ venerunt rumores Parisienses cum luctu quod Rex Franciæ fuit in mensa cum Duce de Burgundia in quodam Castro Burgundiæ. Supervenerunt de imperatore de partibus Alemanniæ quidam Exercitus magnus et combusserunt civitates et villas: Preterea, iis auditis a Rege Franciæ, ipse una cum Duce fugit ad castrum quod Marcho vocatur et [vexit] cibaria vasa et utensilia. Persecutores Regis Franciæ sunt principales Dux Austriæ, Dux Bavariæ, Comes Galariæ, dominus de Falcamod et de Caloniis, Com. de Julers, et multi alii, in numero Mil. lij. magnates.

Insuper die Sanctorum Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi commissum fuit bellum inter Regem Bemiæ et magnates quosdam de Almania, et optinuerunt Almanii victoriam, et ceciderunt de exercitu Regis Bemiæ xxxix. Mil. Treugæ inter Regem Hispaniæ et Regem Bavariæ in festo Sancti Johannis expirant. Gallici indagati quantum possunt quomodo Rex eorum sic in brigatur nec scire certum possunt, et nisi Rex Franciæ sic impeditus fuisset multa fortunia Angliæ evenissent.

Nova de Scotia sunt hæc; quod nostrates statim post recessum de Berwico se in duos exercitus diviserant, unus per forestas et montana transiens ubi Willelmus Duglas et sui fuerunt cum eo dimicando, ipsum fugando, suos prosternendo, et victualia plura

tam viva quam mortua capiendo. Exercitus Regis Scotiæ qui per planities transibat, apud Strivelyn se conjunxit, et in illis partibus habuerunt aliqua opera bellica cum domino Andr. de Murref quem et fugaverunt et multos ceperunt quos gladio manciparunt, ulteriusque transeuntes venerunt ad villam Sancti Johannis quam eis rebellem et contrariam invenerunt et vi ceperunt, nec cuiquam animæ pepercerunt et pro certo refertur quod resistenciam de cetero non habebunt. Thomas Russelyn in quadam villa sagitta percussus in femore illam incaute extrahens venas et nervos rumpens incontinenter decessit. Scotis fugatis et dispersis, et distractis, licet sexies plures erant. Scriptum Eboraci xix° die Junij.

LETTER XVIII.

Letter presenting a Journal of Edward the Third's last expedition against the Scots, A. D. 1336.

[MS. COTTON. VESP. F. VII. fol. 11. *Orig.* on vellum.]

*** None of the Historians of Scotland give either the minute detail or the exact date of Edward the Third's fourth and last expedition into that country, as they are to be found in the present Letter. Holinshed says Edward had forty thousand men with him; Fordun, in the Scotichronicon, twenty thousand; but these must have been intended for the total number of his army in Scotland. The ravages of his expedition were made with a smaller band, probably not more than a thousand persons in the whole; and even that number experienced great privation toward the latter part of their march.

It was on the Friday after the feast of the Translation of St. Thomas à Becket, July 12th, 1336, that the King quitted Perth suddenly and secretly, accompanied by four hundred men-at-arms, and as

many Hobelers and archers. They bivouacked the first night in the open country. The next day the King proceeded northward to Blair-Athol, and then across a portion of the Grampian range to Fythewyn in Badenoch. On the Monday his sudden appearance raised the siege of Loghendorb Castle, and released the Countess of Athol, whose garrison in regard to provision of every kind was reduced to the last extremity. He thence proceeded to Aberskarf (a place not set down upon the maps); and on the Wednesday following to the Abbey of Kinloss, having burnt Fores. Elgin he spared, from reverence to the Holy Trinity, in whose name and honour its church had been constructed. He next crossed the Spey to Inverculan in Banffshire; was afterwards at Doghwan; and went thence to Aberdeen, where he inflicted punishment on the inhabitants, by burning and razing the place, for having slain fifty of his sailors who had landed there on the Thursday preceding. On the Wednesday he passed through Mernis to the Castle of Dunnotyr; and thence in a south-westerly direction to Forfar. Whether this Letter, dated on the 3rd of August, contains the completion of the expedition is difficult to say; as we do not find the King's return to Perth mentioned in the attestations of public instruments till the 28th of that month.

The Countess of Athol mentioned in this Letter was Catherine daughter of Henry Lord Beaumont, styled Earl of Buchan, and widow of David twelfth Earl of Athol, who was killed by the Earl of March's party in the forest of Kilblair, disdaining quarter, Nov. 30th, 1335. The Countess was blockaded in the Castle of Lochendorb by Sir Andrew Murray, from the time of her husband's death till Edward released her. Fordun, in his Scotichronicon, says she had written to Edward for aid: and makes it appear as if the rescue of the Countess was one of the chief objects intended to be obtained by Edward's expedition. It is stated in this letter that the sudden display of Edward's banners gave those in the Castle of Lochendorb the first news of his approach.

Reverentissime Pater et Domine peramande, Nova de partibus borialibus, quæ, secundo die mensis Augusti, dominæ nostræ Reginæ apud Pontem fractum scriptæ fuerant, sunt hæc. Videlicet

quod dominus noster Rex Angliæ die Veneris proximo post festum translationis Sancti Thomæ Martyris de villa Sancti Johannis ad distantiam octo leucarum se movit tam subito quod nulli quousque se armaret innotuit; habens secum iiij^{c}. homines ad arma et tot hobelarios et sagittarios in campis eadem nocte tentoria sua figendo. Dieque Sabbati ad mane ad castrum de Blar', ad distantiam xx. leucarum equitavit. Die vero Dominico sequente, per medium majorum fortitudinum Dasceles montes Scotiæ in altiori[a] et fortiori[b] Scotiæ pertransiens et equitans illo die fere ad xxx. leucas apud Fythawyn in Badenaw pernoctavit. Die Lunæ sequente, ad mane, audiens quod obsidium Scottorum, inter quos erat dominus Andr. de Muref ad numerum xx M. coram Castro Loghendorm ubi domina Comitissa Dasceles morabatur, fuit congregatio ad Ecclesiam de Kynkardyn in Badenau ad distantiam xvj. leucarum super freno equitavit, et cariagium suum ibidem dimittens usque ad duas leucas citra Loghendorm est progressus et vidit eorum tentoria qui dictum Castrum obsidebant, et cum eorum discoopertores nostrates vidissent, et inde premuniti fuissent, usque in Rosse, totaliter se posuerunt in fugam. Idemque dominus noster iter suum directe tenuit ad Castrum supradictum, et erectis et visis nostratuum vexillis, ex tunc in castro existentes de adventu dicti domini nostri primo nova

[a] *sc.* altiora. [b] fortiora.

habuerunt; dicta vero Comitissa se applicans in batella ad terram dicto domino nostro multipliciter regratiabatur, de penuria et adversitate sui et suorum plenius exponendo, et quod pro omnibus infra dictum castrum constitutis victualia (n)ulla supererant preter dolei (doleum) vini modici seu nullius valoris, et dimidium quarterium siliginis, stramen seu palleam non habentes aut quicquam aliud super quo quiescere possent aut cubare. Cui dominus noster precepit quod rediret dieque crastino mitteret pro eadem, et tunc ad cariagium suum est regressus; quo die ad xl. leucas cum toto exercitu suo in pessimo itinere equitavit, multos equos eodem die amittendo ac pro se et toto exercitu suo vix medietas bovis habebatur. Sed die Martis sequente idem dominus noster unam modicam dietam videlicet octo leucarum usque ad Aberkarf gentes suas in fortitudines de Mar destinavit quæ mille bestias et amplius ad exercitum nostrum reduxerunt. Cujus occasione nostrates illares[c] erant et recreati, dictaque Comitissa eodem die dicto domino nostro declinabat. Et die Mercur' ad Abbathiam de Kynles in Muref ad distantiam xx. leucarum porrexerunt. Villam de Fores quæ bona erat, et totam patriam in circuitu combusserunt. In dicta vero Abbathia vinum cervisiam et piscem salsam, bladum, et alia necessaria sibi invenerunt unde refecti erant nostri et non modicum con-

[c] hilares.

solati, et illuc[d] Castrum de Loghendorm predictum de victualibus per terram sufficientibus erat munitum. Die vero Jovis sequenti dictus dominus noster ad Eglyn in Muref ad distantiam octo leucarum progressus erat, ut patriam ibidem in circuitu de tota Scotia meliorem et fertiliorem destrueret, et ignis incendio concremaret. Combustionem tamen villæ de Eglyn ob reverentiam Sanctæ Trinitatis in cujus honore decens ecclesia ibidem est constructa parc(i)ebatur. Die Ven. idem dominus noster aquam de Spee pertransiens ad villam de Colane super mare, ad distantiam xviij. leucarum equitavit. Die Sabati adfuit in Doghwan ad xvj. leucas. Die Dominica Castrum de Kyldromyn quod a latere dimisit pertransiens ad villam de Aberden nocte veniebat, ubi villam inhabitantes supradictam die Jovis precedenti de nautis nostris qui ad terram se temere applicabant ad numerum L. vel circiter occiderunt, una cum nautis de Flandria qui usque ad adventum Regis in portu ibidem detinebantur. Die Lunæ dictus dominus Rex perhabundantem partem ville et veterem Aberden et patriam in circuitu fecit concremari ubi bona quamplurima repperiebantur. Die Martis aquam de Dee pertransiens cariagium suum de mane citra aquam movere faciebat et insuper in predicta villa de Aberden personaliter morabatur ita quod in tota absque cujuscumque domus deletu[e] urebatur, licet in tota Scotia

[d] *forsan* inde. [e] delectu.

domus non habebantur decentiores. Die Mercurii apud Morton en le Mernes existentes Castrum de Dunoter in manu domini nostri predicti existens ad xvj. leucas pro illa dieta transierunt. Die Jovis ad distantiam xvj. leucarum equitavit. Die Ven. ad Forfar' per viij. leucas distantem ubi sibi (nova) venerunt quod Willielmus Douglas cum M^l^ hominibus in foresta de Platere vicina dicto domino nostro latitabat; nec alium tunc temporis nisi dominum Henr. de Lance capitaneum fuisse credebat. Sed cum nocte dicti domini nostri ibidem sciebat presentiam, versus forestam de Bronnan fugiens cum municionibus omnium castrorum Scotiæ in eorum manibus existentium versus Strivelyn rediebat. Ad hæc Pater et Domine scire velitis quod die Lunæ proximo post confectionem presentium Nobilis dominus Comes Cornubiæ cum iiij^c^. hominibus ad arma, de quibus vij^xx^. mundi et bene parati de sua sunt tenura una cum septem millibus hobelariis et sagittariis de diversis patriis congregati in terram Scotiæ progredietur Deo duce sine mora longiori ita quod hiis diebus ad refrenandam inimicorum maliciam nova placentia fluunt et refluunt ubique. In partem solicitudinis quæ in Deum querendum humeris nostris indies incumbit, prout vos scire credimus et tenemus, manus vestras providas et pariter adnutrices apponere dignetur vestra paternitas reverenda quam ad Ecclesiæ suæ Sanctæ et Rengnicolarum regimen

conservet diu in prosperum pietas Jhesu Christi. Scriptum Ebor. iij°. die Augusti.

LETTER XIX.

The Magistrates of Florence to Edward III., interceding for the "Societas Bardorum," who had been ruined by the advances of money they had made to him to support his wars.

[COTTON. MS. NERO B. VII. fol. 11. *Orig.* on paper.]

*** The Bardi were one of the companies of Italian merchants, who, in the 13th and 14th centuries, were the great money-lenders of Europe. The history of their system of action is explained in a very curious Memoir in the twenty-eighth volume of the Archæologia by E. A. Bond, Esq., whence the greater part of the particulars which precede this Letter have been drawn.

There is reason to believe, Mr. Bond says, that the expenses of the expedition which placed Edward the Third upon the throne were partly supplied out of the funds of the Italians. Immediately after the deposition of Edward the Second, a bill of twenty thousand pounds was drawn upon the Exchequer, for discharge of debts contracted by Queen Isabella with merchants abroad. I have not succeeded in discovering the account of the Keeper of her wardrobe, by whose hands the payments were made: but it is evident that she had had dealings with the Italians; for on the 15th of December, in the last year of Edward the Second, when the reins of government were already in her hands, the Treasurer was commanded to deliver £1300 to the Keeper of her wardrobe, to pay off a loan of that amount received from the Bardi while the Queen was in foreign parts.[a] Within a month after the accession of Edward the Third, the same company received a bill upon the Exchequer for two thousand pounds, for an equal sum which the Queen had borrowed of them abroad; and which, as the writ of Liberate states, was paid into her own hands.[b]

[a] Rot. Lib. 20 Edw. II. m. 1.

[b] Ib. 1 Edw. III. m. 5.

The Bardi and Peruzzi of Florence are particularly distinguished at this period; whilst the numerous companies occasionally mentioned under the reign of Edward the First, disappear from view.

It appears from letters patent dated on the 25th May, in his third year, that Edward the Third granted to the Bardi two thousand pounds, in compensation for their losses in advancing five thousand marks, on loan, for the expenses of his passage into France; and seven thousand pounds to be delivered to John of Hainault, and others of that country, for their service in the King's expedition against the Scots.[c]

In his fourth year the Bardi undertook to supply the King with twenty pounds daily, for the space of one year; and all the customs of the realm were assigned to them in payment.[d]

In the following year the same company are represented as having engaged to provide one thousand marks every month, for one year, towards the expenses of the household; and the new and old customs in London and elsewhere were assigned to them for satisfaction of the debt.[e]

In the sixth year the Bardi advanced ten thousand pounds, to be delivered to Reginald Earl of Gueldres, as the marriage portion of Eleanor the King's sister; and they received the King's letters of acknowledgement for the debt.[f]

In the same year the King promised to pay them four thousand marks, of his gift, to compensate their losses occasioned by the non-payment of the loans they had advanced, or had procured from others for his use.[g]

In the eleventh year they received a bill for ten thousand pounds which they had paid at the King's request to divers persons in foreign parts, to expedite urgent business which concerned the King.[h]

From this time to the twenty-first year scarcely any transactions as regard loans are recorded between Edward the Third and the Bardi: though he appears to have engaged in large loans from the Peruzzi, the Leopardi, and other Italian merchants.

In his twenty-first year the Bardi received one hundred and fifty pounds in part payment of the immense sum of £50,493, for which they had the King's letters of obligation.[i]

[c] Rym. Fœd. tom. ii. p. 764.
[d] Cal. Rot. Pat. p. 108.
[e] Ibid. p. 113.
[f] Ibid.
[g] Rot. Pat. 6 Edw. III. p. 1, m. 9.
[h] Rot. Lib. 11 Edw. III. m. 6.
[i] Rot. Lib. 21 Edw. III. m. 2.

From this period the Liberate Rolls cease to afford continuous evidence respecting the loans with which Edward the Third was supplied by these adventurous foreigners. But matters had now reached an extremity with the most wealthy of the Italian companies, who had hitherto proved a sheet-anchor to the government in its exigencies, and had advanced so much the commerce of the kingdom, where they had maintained themselves by the experienced benefit of their power and intelligence. Edward's successes came too late to compensate the losses of the long and doubtful war by which they were preceded: and the circumstances in which he was still engaged, far from enabling him to clear himself of the debts with which he was encumbered, obliged him largely to augment them. The Bardi and Peruzzi, who had assisted him to the full extent of their capital, now found the payment of their demands constantly deferred; and, no longer able to support their commercial engagements, they finally became bankrupts.

The story of their ruin is thus told by Giovanni Villani, a contemporary writer:

"At the period of the war between the Kings of France and England, the companies of the Bardi and Peruzzi of Florence were the King of England's merchants. All his revenues and wools came into their hands, and they furnished from them all his expenses. But the expenses so much exceeded the revenues, that the King of England, when he returned home from the war, found himself indebted, for principal, assignments, and rewards, to the Bardi more than 180,000 marks sterling, and to the Peruzzi more than 135,000 marks. Of these sums a considerable portion consisted in assignments which the King had made to them in times passed: but they were rash enough, whether from covet of gain, or led on by the hope of recovering the entire debt, to give them up, and entrust all their own property, and that of others in their keeping, to this one Prince. And observe, that a large part of the money they had lent was not their own capital, but had been borrowed by them, or received on trust from fellow-citizens and strangers. And great danger thence accrued, both to them and to the city of Florence. For, not being able to answer the calls of their creditors in England and Florence, and elsewhere, where they trafficked, they lost their credit on all sides, and became bankrupts; and especially the Peruzzi. Yet they avoided complete ruin by their possessions in the city and territory of Florence, and by the

great power and rank which they held in the Republic. This failure, and the expenses of the State of Lombardy, greatly reduced the wealth and condition of the merchants and traders of Florence, and of the whole community. For the Bardi and Peruzzi had held so large a share of the commerce of Christendom, that upon their fall every other merchant was suspected and distrusted. Our city of Florence, in consequence, received a shock such as had not been experienced before for many years."

Hence the following Letter from the Magistrates of Florence to King Edward the Third.

Regum Gloriosissime et Domine. Quia tronus regius clementia roboratur perinde confidentius ad Majestatis vestræ diadema sublime recurrimus in favorem Sociorum hactenus Societatis Bardorum de Florentia. Ipsi enim socii et successores eorum occasione dissolutæ Societatis predictæ facti sunt de locupleetibus pauperes et egeni, in tantum quod gravati filiis familiæ vix sufficiunt ad substentamen eorum; et hoc evenit eis propter copiosa servitia quæ dicti olim Socii contulerunt vestræ Majestati, ponentes fere totum hes[a] eorum in servitium Majestatis affatæ tempore guerræ, precipue quo tempore vestra serenitas pecunioso suffragio indigere dicebatur; dictorum igitur dudum Sociorum filios et successores creditores vestræ celsitudinis quantum efficacius possumus et humilius vestro culmini regio commendamus, supplicantes Majestati prefatæ quatinus in eos munificentiæ vestræ dexteram extendentes dignemini misericorditer agere cum eisdem et de errario[b] regio vel

aliter subvenientes eisdem liberalitate regia quam decet erga servitores suos fore propiciam et clementem, ut qui maximam quantitatem pecuniæ in obsequiis regiis effuderunt, restitutionis ejusdem vel saltem subventionis pro manutentione statûs ipsorum sub Majestatis vestræ trono non fiant expertes. Predicta quippe honorem sublimitatis regiæ cernunt, ipsique et nos nostraque communitas perinde erimus ad fidelia obsequia et mandata dispositi regiæ voluntatis quam sospitem conservet Omnipotens regno suo. Data Florentiæ die xxx. Januarii x^a^ Indict.

Devotissimi Majestatis vestræ [servitores]
Priores Artium et Vexillani justitiæ } Populi et Communis Florentiæ.

Serenissimo ac Gloriosissimo Principi et Domino domino Heduardo Dei gratia Angliæ et Francorum Regi.

LETTER XX.

Galeazzo Visconti of Milan to King Edward the Third, with the promise of a Falcon: circa An. 1370.

[MS. COTTON. NERO B. VII. fol. 3. *Orig.*]

*** The partiality of our early monarchs to the sports of the field cannot but be known to every reader: as well as that, from the Hepturchy to the time of Charles the Second, Hawking was the most favourite sport. A person of rank scarcely stirred out without a hawk upon his hand, which, in old illuminations, and upon ancient seals, is the criterion of nobility. We have here a Letter

whence it appears that Galeazzo Visconti had presented Edward with a falcon named the Cyprian; that the King was understood to have been delighted with it; but it died. Galeazzo had others equally good, and better; and promises, should no hindrance to the conveyance happen, that he will undoubtedly replace it.

Galeazzo, the second of his name, was the third son of Stefano Visconti. He succeeded to the town and territory of Milan conjointly with his brothers, Matteo and Bernabo, upon the death of their uncle in 1358; and had for his share Pavia (where he resided, and whence the present Letter is dated,) Asti, Alessandria, Tortona, Vercelli, Novara, Vigevano, and Como. He is allowed to have been an encourager of learning, and was the friend of Petrarch; but a man of cruel disposition. He died at Pavia in 1378. His daughter Violante married Lionel Duke of Clarence, the third son of Edward the Third.

SERENISSIME Princeps et Domine noster, intelleximus quod Falchio vocata Cipriana quam Serenitati vestræ misimus mortua est, de quo dolemus quia de ipsa magnum solatium capiebat ut intelleximus vestra Serenitas. Sed habemus de aliis Falchionibus eque bonis et melioribus, de quibus si viarum discrimina non obstabunt procul dubio transmittemus Majestati vestræ, quam conservet Deus per tempora longiora. Dat. Papiæ, die xviiij°. Aug^i.

GALEAZ VICECOMES MEDIOL'I, ETC.

Imperialis Vicarius generalis.

Serenissimo Principi et Domino nostro Domino [Edwardo] Dei gratia inclito Angliæ Regi.

*** Edward the Third's excessive fondness for falconry forms a leading feature in Froissart's description of his camp when he invaded France. "The King of England, and the great men of his

oost," he says, "had ever with theym in their cariages tentes, pavilions, mylles, ovens, and forges, to syeth and to bake, and to forge shoos for horses; and for other thynges necessary, they had with them a vj. M. cartes, every carte at lest with foure good horses brought out of Englande; also they broght in these cartes certayne botes made of lether, subtilly wrought, and sufficiently every one of them to receyve ij. men, to row in water or rivers, and to fysshe in them at their pleasure, the whiche dyd the great lorde muche pleasure in the Lent season: also the Kynge had *a* xxx. *faukoners a horsbacke*, with haukes, and a lx. couple of houndes, and as many greyhoundes, so that nere every daye eyther he hunted or hauked at the ryver as it pleased hym: and divers others of the great lordes had houndes and haukes as well as the Kyng. And ever as the ost removed, they went in thre batailes, and every batayle had his vawarde, and every oost lodged by themselfe, eche a league from other, and the Kyng kept the thirde batayle, which was most greatest: that maner they kepte for the tyme they removed from Calais tyll they come before the good towne of Chartres." Froissart, Lord Berners's transl. 4to. Lond. 1812, vol. i, p. 251.

LETTER XXI.

John Lord Welles to Mons^r^ John Helyng to accompany him in the wars of Edward III.

[FROM GERVASE HOLLES'S COLLECTIONS, MS. LANSD. BRIT. MUS. 207 A, p. 464.]

*** The date of this Letter must be placed about 1374. The Helyngs were a Lincolnshire family of Helyng, or Heylyng, in that county.

TRESCHER compaignon et fiable amy Sachez que ay garnissement de notre tresredotez le Roi par ses honorablez lettres destre a se le premer jour de Juyn daler oue lui en Fraunce, et jeo desire grantement votre compaignie si vous prie entirement que si vous please

de y estre en ma compaignie que vous veullez venir a moi a mon manour de Hellowe aussi tost come vous poez bonement pour trattier de la dite matier. Et oue leide Dieux nous accorderons bien. Et que vous me veullez certifier votre volunte touchant ceste matier par le portor di cestez et a quiel jour vous veullez venir.

Trescher compaignon et fiable amy Dieux vous eit touz jours en sa sancte garde.

Escript a mon Manoir de Hellow[a] le darrein jour de Janver,

p JOHAN DE WELLE.

A mon trescher Compaignon et fiable
amy Mons[r] Johan Helyng.

LETTER XXII.

Anthony Bembo to King Henry IV., requesting him to cause restitution to be made of a sum of seven hundred and fifty ducats, which he had lent to the Duke of Norfolk, when going to the Holy Land.

[COTTON. MS. NERO B. VII. fol. 15. *Orig.* sealed.]

*** The appeal to Providence by wager of battle in former times was not uncommon in the Court of Chivalry. It was in this trial that Henry of Essex was appealed by Robert de Montford in 1163. He was the hereditary standard-bearer of England, and stood charged by Montford with deserting the standard, and causing the King's defeat in the war against the Welsh. Vanquished in the trial, his life was spared, but his lands and honours were forfeited, and he himself shorn a monk at Reading. Till 1398 no second ap-

[a] Now Bellew.

peal of such conspicuous character stands recorded in our history. It was then that a conversation between Henry of Lancaster Duke of Hereford, and Thomas de Mowbray Duke of Norfolk and Earl Marshal, intended to be private, was disclosed by De Mowbray to the King. Henry of Lancaster became in consequence an appellant, offering to prove his accuser false and recreant "by the stroke of a spear and the dent of sword." The King would have reconciled the parties, but they refused; and he then granted them the battle. Coventry was fixed upon as the field of trial, and the combatants prepared for it in all that ostentatious splendour which marked the gaiety of the tournament. Henry applied to Galeazzo Duke of Milan for harness, who sent him four of the best armourers in Lombardy to fit him. De Mowbray employed his agents in Germany for the same purpose. They came to the field, one mounted on a white courser, barbed with blue and green velvet, embroidered sumptuously with swans and antelopes; the other had his horse barbed with crimson velvet, embroidered with lions of silver and mulberry-trees (in allusion to his name). As they approached to the fight the King cast down his warder; the combatants retired to chairs prepared for them; and the council took some hours to deliberate upon the best course which, under circumstances, it seemed proper to pursue. The challenge was for words only; it was not clear on whom the first blame rested, whilst neither party was absolutely clear from fault. Finally, that neither might escape, both were ordered to be banished. "Yet was Henry gently dealt withall," says Polydore Vergil, "for at the first it was decreed that the time of his exile should continue ten years, and afterward but six years; but Mowbray was both banished for longer season and into farther countries." On the 26th February, 1398, he was committed prisoner to Windsor Castle, and in October following sent away, having liberty to transport himself, with a retinue of forty persons, from any haven between Orwell and Scarborough, and to go into Germany, Bohemia, and Hungary; he was to be allowed no more than a thousand pounds of annual income, but to take as much gold and silver plate, jewels, harness, and other furniture with him as he might think fit.

De Mowbray, however, seems to have gone at once by way of Italy to the Holy Land; and he reached Jerusalem: but on his way back died at Venice, some say of the pestilence which then prevailed, others that it was from anguish of mind. He borrowed

money to pay his expenses before he set out, and this and the succeeding Letter solicit repayment from Henry the Fourth, who had now mounted the throne, and in whose hands the profits and revenues of De Mowbray's estates were placed, the same having been stayed at the time of his sentence, till such sums had been received as De Mowbray had taken up of the King's treasurer "for wages of the garrison of Calais, which were still unpaid." De Mowbray, according to the second Letter, had acknowledged the debt to Bembo in the will he made at Venice, and had given it a preference of payment. Henry also appears to have already given directions for the payment of it out of certain customs of wool; but the order had been neglected. Dugdale says De Mowbray died upon the Monday before the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, in the 1st Hen. IV.

SERENISSIME et excellentissime Rex et domine, domine mi singularissime, humillima et devota recommendatione premissa. Alias per plures et plures litteras meas serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati vestræ significavi qualiter dum magnificus dominus dominus Dux Norfolchie disposuisset Sepulchrum dominicum visitare, quesivit a me domestice et caritative Ducatos septingentos et quinquaginta amicitiæ causa et muti et perfecti amoris, nam tunc indigentiâ eum cogebat, et ego dulciter et ob reverentiam sacræ Regiæ Majestatis motus volui prefato illustri et magnifico domino Duci in non modico commodo meo protinus complacere, sperans omnino secundum promissionem michi per eundem factam prestissime restitutionem habere, quod minimè factum fuit. Unde cum transacti sunt jam anni quinque et ego steterim in dilatione continue contra omnem humanitatem de-

crevi Regiam Majestatem vestram rogare quatinus ob reverentiam Dei et contemplationem et . . . cionem Regiam placeat et dignetur Serenitas vestra providere quod mihi servitori Majestatis Regiæ plena restitutio fiat ut postquam tempus tantum amisi capitale meæ propriæ pecuniæ non amittam ex opere tam humano quod mihi reputabo ad gratiam singularem. Dat. Venet. die primo mensis Maii Mcccciiij^{or}.

Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestatis Vestræ devot. Servitor } ANTHONIUS BEMBO miles.

Serenissimo Principi et Excellentissimo domino Henrico Dei gratia Angliæ et Franciæ Regi Illustrissimo, Domino suo singularissimo.

LETTER XXIII.

Michael Steno, Doge of Venice, to King Henry the Fourth, stating the particulars of the Duke of Norfolk's debt to Antonio Bembo and Giovanni Cane. A.D. 1403.

[COTTON. MS. NERO B. VII. fol. 6. *Orig.* on vellum.]

SERENISSIMO et excellentissimo domino Henrico Dei gracia Angliæ et Franciæ Regi illustrissimo Michael Steno Dei gratia Dux Venetiarum &c. salutem et prosperorum successuum incrementa. Quamquam per alias nostras Serenitati vestræ in recommendatione jurium nostrorum infrascriptorum civium replicate scripsisse reminiscamur; tamen sperantes in summa justitia vestræ regiæ Majestatis,

quæ cives nostros tam clarum jus foventes nullatenus derelinquere poterit, pro ipsis etiam his presentibus intercedere non cessamus. Hinc est quod ad nostram presentiam comparentes viri nobiles Antonius Bembo miles et Johannes Cane, dilecti cives nostri, nobis exposuerunt quod dum quondam illustris memoriæ dominus Thomas Dux Norfolchie reperiens se Venetiis et indigens pecunia pro expensis Itineris sui ad visitationem sepulchri dominici, amicabiliter requisivisset a predictis certam pecuniæ quantitatem de qua liberaliter et sincero amore serviverunt eidem domino Duci, sicut clare sciunt omnes tunc cum sua Excellentia Venetiis exeuntes; et de mutuo predicto apparent etiam ultra latissimas promissiones eisdem civibus nostris factas per dictum dominum Ducem aliqua publica Instrumenta in manibus nostrorum nobilium predictorum, qui asserunt quod in testamento dicti quondam domini Ducis expresse cavetur, quod debita contracta Venetiis prius et presto solvantur; et nichilominus tantum temporis lapsum est, nec ulla restitutio dictis nostris civibus facta est, quod cessit ac cedit ad eorum non parvum incommodum atque damnum. Retulerunt etiam nobis cives nostri predicti, et addiderunt quod anno proxime elapso dum vestra Majestas literas nostras superinde descriptas amicabiliter inspexisset, volens de solutionis remedio Justissiæ[a] providere, expresse manda-

[a] *Sic in orig.*

vit quod de costumis mercatorum quæ de regno vestro jamdicto cives nostri vel eorum commissarii extrahere velent eisdem deberet fieri satisfactio debiti suprascripti; de quo mandato plenissime confidentes dicti commissarii certas lanas et alias mercantias emerunt cum proposito illas sine solutione costumi extrahendi, sed in eo quod habere debebat secundum mandatum regium defalcandi, quod mandatum et propositum regium defectu officialium quorum intererat executioni missum non extitit, in non parvum damnum nostrorum civium predictorum. Quapropter cum Jus et Equitas nos moneat, ut civibus nostris in tam rationabilibus causis nostros favores propitios impendamus, Celsitudinem vestram quam a certo scimus justitiam colere et diligere equitatem affectuose precamur quatinus placeat et dignetur effectualiter ordinare, aut quod mandatum vestrum regium alias superinde factum executioni mittatur omnino aut in bonis quondam prefati domini ducis Nobiles nostri predicti qui in indigentia ejusdem tam liberaliter et confidenter serviverunt eidem et servirent semper quibuslibet subditis vestræ Regiæ Majestatis satisfactionem suam habere valeant ut est justum et de Majestate vestra speramus. Insuper nobis exposuerunt quod magnificus dominus Thomas de Sornibor pro dicto mutuo extitit fidejussor a quo vel a principali suprascripto placeat mandare et ordinare cives nostros predictos solutionem et satisfac-

tionem predicti mutui integraliter assequi posse, ut cotidie non habeant justam causam nostram audientiam lamentationibus fatigandi. Asscriptum hoc quamquam equissimum sit ad complacentiam singularem.

In nostro ducali Palatio die primo mensis Maii indictionis duodecima.

Serenissimo et Eccellentissimo domino Henrico Dei gratia Angliæ et Franciæ Regi illustrissimo.

LETTER XXIV.

Thomas Earl of Arundel and Surrey to King Henry the Fourth, requesting that the living of Stokenham in Devonshire may be given to Adam Damport, Chancellor to the Queen of Portugal; and also a respite for a payment, on account of his poverty and losses in Wales.

[MS. COTTON. NERO B. I. fol. 30. *Orig.*]

*** From the mention of the Dean of Salisbury's death in this Letter, the date of 1403 may be safely assigned to it. Le Neve, in his List of the Deans, after noticing Dean Robert de Braybrooke's promotion to the see of London, says, "Thomas Montacute is the next I can hear of, and he made profession of canonical obedience Nov. 19, 1388.[a] I hear of him again in 1398,[b] and Octob. 6, 1402.[c] But what became of him afterwards I know not." His successor, John Chaundeler, however, occurs in 1404.

TRESEXCELLENT trespuissant et tressouerein seignur Jeo moy recomant a votre hautesse sy humblement come jeo say ou pluis puisse. Et trespuis-

[a] Reg. Sarum. [b] Hist. and Antiq. Oxon. l. i. p. 200. [c] Reg. Sarum.

sant seignur vous please assauoir que Mestre Thomas Mountagu le Dean de Salesbire est a Dieux comaundez, per qi mort lesglise de Stokenhame en le Countee de Deuenshire est ore voide a la donesoun de quele a vous appartient, a cause del meindre age le Conte de Salesbire en votre garde esteant. Que please a votre Roial Mageste graunter la dicte esglise a Mestre Adam Damport le Chaunceller du Roigne de Portugal ma treshonuré Dame votre Soere. Entendantz trespuissant seignur qil mad fait sy bone seruice en mes affaires q̄ jeo suy luy toutefoitz tenuz; et si ascune chose fuisse en monn poair de faire pur luy ieo luy le ferroie adeites pur lonur de ma dicte dame la Roigne de Portugal. Et trespuissant seignur vous supplie que vous nè displease del nonnpaiement dè money que jeo doy a votre hautesse a ceste foitz, car en bone foy qoy pur le distruccon de mes terres en Gales et la graund charge que ieo y porte, et qoy pur les graundes charges que iay encountre la venue ma muliere ieo ne suy de poair de le faire vnqore, mes a pluis tost que ieo le p̄ray certeinement eut s'rez bn paie si Dieux plest. Tresexcellent trespuissant et tressouerein seignur luy toutpuissaunt vous ottroie honur ioie et prosperite, bone vie et longe a voz honurables desirs. Escript a mon Chastell Darundell le xxv. jour de Juyn.

Votre humble lige

THOMAS CONTE DARUNDELL et DE SURR.

LETTER XXV.

King Henry the Fourth to Timur Beg. A. D. 1402.

[MS. COTTON. NERO B. XI. fol. 172. The Original draft on vellum.]

*** The Cottonian Manuscript here referred to, contains drafts of several Letters which may not be inappropriately termed Specimens of Henry the Fourth's Eastern Correspondence. All are upon vellum.

The first of these, fixed upon the same folio with the present Letter, is one from Henry to the Emperor of Abyssinia, extolling his intention of assisting to rescue the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the Infidels. It mentions the wish which Henry himself had long entertained, and still encouraged, to visit the Holy Land. It also recommends to the Emperor's kindness John Archbishop of the East and of Ethiopia.

Then follows the present Letter to Timur Beg.

Upon folio 173 we have a Letter to the King of Cyprus and Armenia, complimental and seeking intercourse; followed by another to Michael Steno, Doge of Venice. In both these Archbishop John is mentioned, and in the latter recommended as "amicum nostrum sincere dilectum qui, pro bono pacis et augmentatione fidei, seipsum jam a diu nonnullis laboribus laudabiliter exponebat ad partes vestras—cum servitoribus et subditis suis omnibus." A note, in the same hand with these drafts, records that Letters similar in tenor were written to the Emperor of Trebizond, to the King of Georgia, and to the Emperor of Constantinople, "Imperatori Trepisundarum et Regi Gurganiæ, prout Imperatori Constantinopolitano."

At folio 175 we have a Letter to Mirassa Amirassa, that is, to Mirza Mirân Schab, the third son of Timur, thanking him for the kindness as well as for the security which he had afforded to Catholics, and especially to the Christian merchants, both as to their persons and their dealings; dated at Hertford, in the month of February.

The same folio also preserves the draft of a Letter to Manuel II.*

* Henry the Fourth kept up a good understanding at Constantinople. The same

at Constantinople: "Principi Manueli in Christo Deo fideli Imperatori Romeorum, Paleolago, semper Augusto, fratri nostri carissimo," complaining that the Catholics, especially the Friars-Preachers, were molested by the Greek priesthood. This Letter likewise recommends Archbishop John, "Johannem Archiepiscopum Soltaniensem seu Orientis," and adds, "quicquid autem humanitatis aut favoris jam dicta Majestas impendet eidem, nobis reputabimus forisfactum."

The last document is a Letter of general recommendation for this Archbishop, given under the privy seal.[b]

The Letter which we have selected from these documents to present to the reader is that to Timur Beg; it accedes to an offer which Timur had made through Archbishop John, of a free commercial intercourse between the subjects of Timur and Henry. It at the same time congratulates Timur upon his victory over Bajazet. This fixes the date of the Letter to 1402. The battle in which the Osmans were totally defeated, and which placed Bajazet in the hands of Timur, was fought on the plains of Angora, according to the best accounts on July 20th, 1401.

It will be natural now, for the reader to enquire who was John Archbishop of the East, Henry the Fourth's missionary? Wadding informs us that he was an Englishman, a Minorite or Friar Preacher, of the name of John Greenlaw.[c] John, the second of the name, was made Archbishop of Sultania by Pope Boniface, 20th Oct. 1400. Our Archbishop of the East is designated by this additional title in the Letter to Manuel II.

Sultania or Soldania was a fortified city of Armenia, under the

volume which preserves these Letters holds an original deed from Manuel II. acknowledging the receipt of three thousand marks which Henry had presented to him as a reward for the labour and expense he had sustained in resisting the infidels.

[b] "Carissime. Cum venerabilis in Christo pater frater Johannes Ordinis Predicatorum Soltanien. sive tocius Orientis Archiepiscopus, qui pro Christi nomine in Saracenorum auribus in diversis et longinquis transmarinis partibus extollendo seipsum multifariis et pluribus subjiciebat erumpnis, quique jampridem quasdam de partibus illis nobis literas attulit nonnulla quæ causam Dei sapiant nostris auribus inculcando, nunc sedem apostolicam pro jam dicta causa personaliter visitare proponat, et abinde versus dictas partes gressus suos dirigere necnon pro fide catholica juxta salubriter inchoata, per eum amplius operari pro viribus; vobis mandamus quod literas recommendatorias sub privato sigillo nostro patentes universis Regibus, et Principibus et aliis pro dicto Archiepiscopo merito nobis caro in forma debita et casu consimili consueta fieri faciatis. Dat. sub Signeto nostro apud civitatem nostram London xij. die ffebruarii."

[c] Annales Minorum, tom. ix. p. 248.

dominion of the Turks, anciently known by the name of Tigranocerta. It was erected into an archiepiscopal See by Pope John XXII. in the year 1318.[d]

Henricus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ et Franciæ ac Dominus Hiberniæ magnifico et prepotenti Principi domino Themurbeo[e] amico nostro, quamplurimum in Deo dilecto salutem et pacem in omnium Salvatore. Magnifice Princeps, amice in Deo dilecte, presentatis nobis jamdudum per venerabilem in Christo patrem Archiepiscopum Orientis, vestræ celsitudinis literis non tam ex earum forma quam ex credentia per vos eidem Archiepiscopo commissa nobisque per ipsum vivæ vocis oraculo declarata perpendimus exuberante amicitiæ vestræ dulcedine quam erga nostram nullis nostris precedentibus meritis continue geritis Majestatem, de statu nostro prospero certa nova suscipere corditer affectantes, gavisique quamplurimum tunc temporis cum per dictum Archiepiscopum alias occasione pacis et unitatis in Frankiam de mandato filii vestri magnifici destinatum ac inde ad conspectum sublimitatis vestræ regressum, necnon per fratrem Franciscum Schadern de Ordine Predicatorum de nostrarum dilatatione terrarum ac aliis gestis nostris vestræ magnificentiæ fuerat intimatum et quam desideran-

[d] See Oriens Christianus in quatuor Patriarchatus digestus; studio et opera Michaelis le Quien: fol. Par. 1740, tom. iii. p. 1366.

[e] The words *Kurngan Gazinuus* here occur, with a line drawn through them.

ter habetis in votis ut Mercatores regnorum nostrorum hinc inde valeant in temporibus nostris quemadmodum nostrorum vestrorumque predecessorum temporibus consueverant invicem pacifice convenire. Pro quibus omnibus magnifice Princeps amicitiæ vestræ referimus . . . gratiarum eandem ex corde rogantes de vestra penes nos et nostros continuanda benivolentia, et ut nostri mercatores ad vestra dominia de beneplacito vestro personaliter accedere valeant prout nobis complacet ut et vestri mercatores ad nostra dominia poterint se conferre.

Intelleximus etiam ex dictarum continentia litterarum qualiter ad partes Thurciæ noviter accedentes nostrum vestrumque veterem Inimicum Baazitam scilicet et totam ipsius patriam infra modici temporis spatium suffragante Domino conculcastis. Unde spiritum consolationis et gaudii suscepimus vehementer. Sibi proinde gratias humiles exsolventes per quem Reges regnant, victores existunt, et potentia Principum augmentatur, cujus nomini studeatis de tanta victoria celitus vobis dicta.[f]

Ceterum Princeps magnifice scire velitis nos vestræ dilectionis et honoris obtentu prefatum Archiepisco-

[f] Here the following sentence succeeds, but obliterated by a line drawn entirely through it. "Et utinam Princeps magnifice talis nobis dies arrideat in qua celsitudo vestra Dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum pro nobis natum morti traditum, ac die tertia resurgentem, necnon et religionem fidei orthodoxæ corde spontaneo professura, velut princeps catholicus ac ecclesiæ Christianæ procurator intentus, adversus crucis hostes se potenter exponet immensum exinde premium in conspectu Altissimi reportando."

pum per nos benigne receptum non tam benivole quam favorabiliter tractavisse. Et idcirco magnificentiam vestram petimus ex affectu quatinus eundem Archiepiscopum ad vestræ Majestatis presentiam revertentem qui vos de statu et gestis nostris regiis noverit plenius informare suscipere velitis nostræ considerationis intuitu specialissime recommissum sibi q$ in suis ex parte nostra vestræ celsitudini referendis aurem credulam adhibere. Magnifice Princeps amice in Deo dilecte, &c. (*ut in aliis literis.*)

*** The Harleian MS. 431. fol. 10, preserves a contemporary copy of a Letter from John Paleologus to Henry the Fourth, dated from Constantinople, 1st June, 1402, in which the services of certain English warriors in the then recent repulse of the Turks from before the City are most gratefully acknowledged.

This was not John Paleologus II., who succeeded Manuel in 1425, but JOHN *the nephew of Manuel*, son of Andronicus III., whom in 1399 Manuel associated with himself in the imperial power. He calls himself "Johannes in Christo Deo fidelis Imperator et Moderator Romeorum Paleologus."

LETTERS

FROM

THE REIGN OF

HENRY THE FIFTH

TO

THE REIGN OF

HENRY THE SEVENTH.

LETTER XXVI.

Henry the Fifth to his Privy Council, from the Camp before Rouen, desiring to know how John of Bavaria had conducted himself toward England. A. D. 1417.

[MS. COTTON. GALBA B. II fol. 147. *Orig.*]

*** John of Bavaria, son of Albert of Bavaria, Count of Holland and Hainault, was appointed Prince-Bishop of Liege by the Pope in 1390, at the early age of seventeen. He became a Subdeacon in 1392, but never took higher orders, nor received consecration in his See. It was on this latter account that Henry the Fifth calls him "Duke John of Bavaria, sometime Elect of Liege." His Episcopate was one of great trouble to the Liegeois, who on account of the harshness of his government, and the numerous exactions which he ordered, at last bestowed upon him the appellation of "Jean sans pitié." He abdicated his bishoprick of Liege in the early part of the year in which this Letter was written, and retired first, for a very short period to Luxemburgh, where he married Elizabeth de Gorlitz, the then reigning Duchess. He went thence to Holland, where he was heir presumptive, and became Lieutenant to his niece, the Countess Jaqueline. Toward the end of 1424 he went to Friesland to quell a tumult, where he was poisoned by one John Vliet, who afterwards suffered for his crime. His death occurred Jan. 6th, 1425: Henry the Fifth, from the tenor of this Letter, must have been well-acquainted with the character of John of Bavaria.

BY THE KYNG.

RIGHT worshipful and worshipful faders yn God, right trusty and welbeloved, We grete yow wel, and wol ye wite that thambassiatours of oure Brothir the Duc of Baire, bringers of this, have been here with us and doon theire Ambassiat in suche wyse as we halde

us wel apaide. And among othir thinges declared unto us, thei have desired to knowe how it standeth bitwix us and the princes of Duchelond, and in what wise thei governe hem towardes us, and in especial how Duc Johan of Baire, sumtyme Elit of Lieges governeth him anenst us; for, as they sey, thereafter wol oure brother of Baire governe him to the same Johan. And for as muche as ye knowe better than we doo how the said Duc Johan governeth him towardes us and oure Rewme of Englande and oure suggettes, We remitte hem to have ful declaracion and verrai knaweleche of you in that matere. Wherfore we wol that ye comune with thaim of this matere, latyng hem have knoweleche therof, and how yow thinke that oure brother of Baiere shulde governe him anenst the same Duc John; for ye mowe trustely anogh commun with thaim of suche materes, as us thenketh by the governance that thei have shewed to us. Moreover thei have desired of us to be counseilled be what weye thai might best and most seurly retourne hoom ayen into thaire cuntre owt of oure Rewme of Englande, considerynge that the trewes whiche were betwix us and the Duc of Bourgoine expired at Mighelmasse last passed. Wherfore, in as muche as ye knowe better thanne we how thai of Flandres and also of Hollande governe thaim towardes us and oure soubgettes, We, desiryng in al wise the sauf retournyng hoom of the said Ambassa-

tours, wol that ye counseille and advise hem in the best wyse that ye can for the seurete of thaire retournyng. And whiles thai tarie yn oure land we wol that there be shewed unto hem al these favour and chere that may be doon yn goodly wyse. And also that ye oure Chanceller doo make unto thaim soufficeant Writtes of passage, in suche wyse as thai may have redy passage owt of oure land from what port thai come too, unto what port thayme is levest to drawe to by yowre advis. And Almighty God have yow in his kepyng. Yeven under oure signet in oure hoost afore Roan the 21 day of Octobre.

LETTER XXVII.

King Henry the Fifth to the Bishop of Durham, his Chancellor, from before Falaise; for the payment of such money as was due to John Hull, Esquire, one of his Ambassadors in Spain. A. D. 1418.

[MS. COTTON. VESPAS. C. XII. fol. 127 b. *Orig.*]

*** John Hull and William Chanceller, Esquires, were appointed in 1415, 3 Hen. V., to convey Murdoc of Fife, the son and heir apparent of the Duke of Albany, to the North, who had been taken prisoner at Homildon Hill in 1402, and had been detained from that time in England.[a]

Sir John St. John, Kn^t^., John Hull, Esq., and Dr. John Stokes, were appointed to treat with the Ambassadors of the King of Castile in December, 1416, 4th Hen. V.[b]

[a] Rym. Fœd. tom. ix. p. 419.

[b] Ibid. p. 420.

These entries, at first sight, tally but little with the long time which this Letter speaks of, as to Hull being in Spain; but, even at a later period, two years was considered a very long time for a Spanish Embassy. In the minute of a Letter from Sir Thomas Chaloner to Secretary Cecil, 5th March, 1562, his words of Spain are: "It is too much of very pittie and conscience in this villainous Countrie to keep onie poore subjects more than two yeares. A liberall prison in England were to be preferred."[c]

Worshipful fader in God, right trusty and welbeloved. ffor as moche as our welbeloved squier John Hull haath long tyme be in our ambassiat and seruice in the parties of Spaigne, for the whiche, as he haath compleined to us, he is endaungerd gretly, and certein goodys of his leyd to wedde, Wherfor we wol that ye see that thier be taaken dewe accomptes of the said John, how many dayes he haath stande in oure said Ambassiat and seruice, and therupon that he be contented and agreed in the best wyse as longeth vn to hym in this cas. Yeuen vnder ouer Signet in oure hoost beside oure toun of Faloise the x. day of ffeu'er.

LETTER XXVIII.

Hugh Stafford to the Earl of March and Ulster. Reports his having executed his orders, and desires his cousin Clyfford may be sent over to him.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. D. III. fol. 155. *Orig.*]

[b] Edmund Earl of March and Ulster, to whom this Letter is

[c] MS. Cotton. Vespas. c. vii. fol. 265 b.

addressed, was made Lieutenant of Normandy in the 6th Hen. V. A.D. 1418.[a] He married Anne, daughter of Edmund Earl of Stafford; and died Jan. 19th, 3 Hen. VI., as Dugdale states, at the early age of twenty-four.

Hugh Stafford, the writer of this Letter, having married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Bartholomew Lord Bourchier, was summoned to Parliament by that title in the 12th Hen. IV. He accompanied the expedition to France in the 5th of Henry V., and died in the 9th of that King.[b]

My ryzt worschipful Lorde y recomaunde me vn to zow. Lyke zow to wete that I have receyuyd zoure letter that ze have sente to me zeuyng me in comaundement of oure souerayn lordys be halue and of zoures, that y schulde pate ym the Cuntre of Mayn the which ys a boute me, and putte hem in subieccoun and ellys to manas hem to brenne, and to hewe here vynys, the which y schal do to my powere as ze hau comaundyt me. And yf yt lyke on to zoure gracous lordschip that my cousyn Clyfford myzt come in to this Cuntre with swych as ze left assigne of zoures, I wolde truste to God that yt schulde turne to greet worschippe to zow and to alle zour seruauntys the which ben vndir zow in this Marchis. Zyf ze thouzt that yt were to doon, and puttyng zoor enemyes in greet feere. I can no more, but as men seyn in thys cuntre that Mystodyn[c] hath maad hys purvyaunce in the Abbey of Saveneye for to holde hys Cristemasse, the which Abbey ys but a lege

[a] Rot. Norm. tom. i. p. 262. [b] Dugd. Bar. tom. i. pp. 173, 174.

[c] Cotgrave interprets "*Mistoudin*, a neat fellow, a spruce companion."

ouzt of Mayn. Herkenyng vn . . . and thos that ouzte to be the kyngys liche men the which schulden fetayle vs here, they hau y fetaylid hym well and nothyng vs, the which Soudyours of this place weren ouzt a Cristemasse euyn, and brouzt hom a dosyn hors lodys of bred with hem the which was ordeynyd for hym. I can no more at this but that God have zow ever more in hys kepyng. I writyn at Danfrount the xxvii. day of Decembr'.

Zoure seruaunt

HUGH STAFFORD.

To my worschipful lord Erl of the March and of Vlstre lieutenaunt of Normandye.

LETTER XXIX.

The Her George and Dr. John Stokes to King Henry the Fifth: from Heidelberg, after the Treaty of 1420.

[MS. COTTON. APPEND. XXIX. *Orig.*]

*** This Letter is valuable as a specimen of Language. Of Dr. John Stokes the actual writer, a short notice has been already given in the Second Series, vol. i. p. 80. Who the Her George was, the Editor is not aware.

The Treaty of Peace "between Henry the Fifth on the one party, and his father of France and the Duke of Burgundy on the other," sufficiently points to 1420 as the date of this Letter. Henry made his final treaty with Charles the Sixth in that year, taking Kathe-

rine the daughter of Charles in marriage, and agreeing to call the French King his father.

"The Duke your brother," spoken of in the opening of the Letter, was Louis III., Count Palatine, surnamed the Bearded, who succeeded to the Palatinate in 1410. He married to his first wife, in 1402, Blanche, the eldest daughter of Henry the Fourth. She died in 1406 in childbed. Louis's second wife was Matilda, daughter of Amadeus of Savoy. He died at Heidelberg, Dec. 29, 1436.

Owre most souerain most myghty and most dred lord, We zowr seruitours and bede men, and I zowr humble lyge recõmende vs vnto zowr most heygh grace as mekely and as lowly as we can or may. And gyf it lyke vn to zow for to have in knowlache aftir the tyme that we departede from zowr most heygh and moste excellent presence qwat by lande and qwat by water we came vn to Hadelberg the xiiij. day of Juny, qwer vp on the next day folwyng we presentede zowr graciows lettres vn to the Duk zowr brother; and aftirward with a solempne proposicion dennouncede vn to hym thys Pes the qwyche is acorded and concluded by thwen zow vp on the on partie and zow fadir of ffraunce and the Duk of Burgoyn vp on the tother syde: the qwych pes as I declarede is myghty and vertuows, it is fair and graciows, and it is swete and amorows, with all othere circumstancez and allegeaũces that owte for to be mad and alleggyd and acordyng ther to. And aftir all other thyngs declarede vn to hym as weel of hys

comynge vn to zow as of othere aftir the tenur of owr instruccion vp on the beste wyse that we cowde deuyse aftir owr simple ententes.

Zowr forsayde brother the Duk was of thys forsaide pees as glad, ioyful, and merie as eny erthely man owte for to be; and declarede hys entent how that he wele be comprehendyd ther in as zowr allye, and haue it and halde it ferme and stable, and observe it and make it for to be observed by hym, hys heires, vasalles, and subgees[a] purpetuelly, and at all tymes as mochyl as in hym is to execute it a zens all thoo that wele werch the contrarie, other on ony wyse wolde lette the entent other the grete gode of the same pees, as hym self schall doo and perfourme swyche tyme as he speketh with zow in hys ownne persone.

More owere and it lyke vn to zowr most heygh and most graciows lordschipe as towchyng hys coñyng vn to zow ward he declarede vn to vs how vp on the v. day by fore owr coñyng vn to hym he hadde sent forth Mayster Jon Lobaim vn to zow by the nexte wey, for to declar vn to zow the tyme of hys comyng, and the weyes also the qwych he wele holde; that is for to wete vp on Marie Magdaleyns day next comyng he wele by gynne take hys iourne and passe forth by the teritories of the Erchebyschop of Trere, and so forth by the Duche of Lucelburgh, and with

[a] subjects.

the grace of God vp on the vii. day aftir he wele be in the bourdures of Fraunce in a ton callyd Ifais a lege from the toun of Mosmi, and fro thens in thre days he may be at Parys. By these weyes for to come he hath take hys purpos and concluded it by hys counceill and hys puple that schall goo wyth hym, the qwych purpos he wele nowgt chaunge but zyf Maister Jon Lobaim brynge hym other word fro zow, and with owte iayle he scall come and with iiij^{c} other v^{c} gode hors.

Also and it lyke vn to zowr moste heygh and benygne grace for owr moste redy spede vn to the Emperowr zowr brother, We sende zowr graciows lettres vn to the Erchebyschopys of Mayns, Trere, and of Coloyne by Hans Pruce zowr chivauchier, sufficeañtly instruct and enfourmed of all thyngs that schall by seyd by mowth. And more ouer for as mochill as the laste tyme qwan I was vp on zowr message with the Erchebischop of Coleine he declar'de vn to me, and hys conceill also, how that he wolde come to zow and alwey schulde be redy to come to do zow seruise vp on hys owne cost, so that he myghte have sure passage as I wrot vn to zow and in my comỹge declarede by mowthe. Qwerfore zyf it be plesyng vn to zow I of myn owne heuesde have wryte vn to hym a lettre rehersyng hys promyse and hys byhest, and sterede hym by swych menes in the same lettre for to come, that trewly zyf he come nowt but

zyf sekenesse excuse hym ze schall mowe resonably seye how that he dooth nowgt hys devoure.

More ouere as we be enfourmed the Emperour is in Beme by syde Prage at Berne, and zyt he hath gret rebellion and disobeisance of the Lollardes, and so mochyll a doo vp on euery syde that we can nowght make zow sure nother of hys coñyng in his owne persone nother of sendyng by othere, for as towchyng hys ordinaunce of sendynge, the qwych was by gunne by the Erchebischop of Tr're aftir that he hadde made relacion vn to the Emperour azen, the matier hath by layd a slepe and no thyng more doo ther to.

Other tydynges we can nowght, and it like vn to zow at thys tyme, but that of the grete manhode myghtynesse and puissaunce that Almighty God blessyd by his name hath seet and put in zowr chose persone, zowre victoriowse fame floreseth and regneth, and zowr gloriowse name is enhaunsed, magnified, and dred aboue all erthely Princeps thorw all the word[b] Cristene and Hethene. Most souerayn, most myghty, and most dred lord the Holy Trinite saue zow, kepe, and mayntene euere more vn to a gloriowse victorie of all zowre enemyes. Wryten in Hadelberge the xvij. day of the monieth of Juny.

Zowr seruitours an Bedemen,

HER GEORGE and JON STOKES zowr lyge.

To the Kynge.

[b] world.

LETTER XXX.

King Henry the Fifth to the Bishop of Durham, to provide the Queen's physician with some benefice.

[FROM THE *Orig.* AMONG THE RECORDS IN THE TOWER.]

*** The King was before Meaux, whence this Letter is dated, in 1421. Meaux surrendered to him May 2nd, 1422.

BY THE KING.

WORSHIPFUL fader in God oure right trusty and welbeloved. Forasmuche as we have understande by youre lettres late sent unto us yat oure Wyf ye Quene hath spoken unto yow and desireth yat hir Phisicien myght have sum benefice wiyowte cure, of oure collacion, in ye whiche matere ye desire to have knowlege of oure wil we signiffie unto yow yat hit is wel oure entent whanne any sucche benefice voydeth of oure yifte yat ye make collacion to him y^r^of, and after certiffieth us what hit is yat he hav. Yeven under oure signet in oure Oost beside Meaulx ye xxix. day of Octobre.

CHIVYNGHAM.

To ye worshipful in God oure right trusty and welbeloved ye Bisshop of Duresme oure Chanceller of England.

LETTER XXXI.

King Henry the Fifth to the Bishop of Durham, Chancellor, to make out letters patents for the Masters of his great ships, carracks, barges, and balengers, to have annuities.

[FROM THE *Original* AMONG THE RECORDS IN THE TOWER.]

BY THE KYNG.

WORSHIPFUL Fader yn God We sende yow closed wiyin yis lettre a Cedule contenyng ye names of certein Maistres for owr owne grete shippes, carrakes, barges, and balyngers, to ye whiche Maistres we have granted annuitees suche as is appointed upon eche of hem in ye same Cedule, to take yerely of owre grante while yat us lust at owr Exchequer of Westmynster, atte ye termes of Michelmasse and Ester, by even porcions. Wherfore we wol and charge yow yat unto eche of ye said Maistres ye do make under owr Grete Seel beyng in yowre warde owr lettres patentes saverales en due forme after yeffect and pourport of owr said Grante. Yeven under owr signet atte owr Castel of Tonque ye xij. day of Aoust.

Au reverend Pere en Dieu l'Evesque de Duresme nostre Chanceller Dengleterre.

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vj.^{ll} xiij.^{s} iiij.^{d} La grande Nief appellee Ih's dont Joh'n William est maistre . . . vj. mariners pour la sauf garde deinz Hamull'.

vj.^{li} xiij.^{s} iiij.^{d} La Trinite Roiale dont Steph. Thomas est maistre . . . . . vj. mariners.

vj.^{li} xiij.^{s} iiij.^{d} La Holygost dont Jordan Brownyng est maistre . . . . . vj. mariners.

vj.^{li} xiij.^{s} iiij.^{d} La Carrake appellee Le Petre dont Joh'n Gerard est maistre . . vj. mariners.

vj.^{li} xiij.^{s} iiij.^{d} La Carrak appellee Le Paule dont William Payne est maistre . . vj. mariners.

vj.^{li} xiij.^{s} iiij.^{d} La Carrak appellee Le Andrewe dont Joh'n Thornyng est maistre . . vj. mariners.

vj.^{li} xiij.^{s} iiij.^{d} La Carrak appellee Le Xp'ofre dont . . . Tendrell est maistre . . vj. mariners.

vj.^{li} xiij.^{s} iiij.^{d} La Carrak appellee Le Mare dont William Richeman est maistr. . . vj. mariners.

vj.^{li} xiij.^{s} iiij.^{d} La Carrak appellee Le Marie dont William Hethe est maistr. . . vj. mariners.

vj.^{li} xiij.^{s} iiij.^{d} La Carrak appellee Le George dont Joh'n Mersh est maistr. . . . vj. mariners.

La Carrak appellee Le Agnus dont . . . . . est maistr. . . . ij. mariners.

c.^{s} La Nief appellee Nicholas dont William Robynson est maistr. . . iij. mariners.

c.^{s} La Nief appellee La Kateryne dont Joh'n Kyngeston est maistr. . . iij. mariners.

c.^{s} La Nief appellee La Mare dont Ric. Walsh est maistr. . . . . iij. mariners.

c.^{s} La Nief appellee Le Flaward dont Thomas Martyn est maistr. . . . iij. mariners.

c.^{s} La Nief appellee Le Mare dont William Cheke est maistr. . . . . iij. mariners.

c.^{s} La Nief appellee Le Xp'ofre dont William Yalton est maistre . . . iij. mariners.

lxvj.^{s} viij.^{d} La Barge appellee La Petite Trinite dont Joh'n Piers est maistr. . . iij. mariners.

lxvj.^{s} viij.^{d} La Balynger appellee Le Ave dont Rauf Hoskard est maistr. . . iij. mariners.

lxvj.^{s} viij.^{d} La Balynger appellee Le Nicholas dont Robert Shad est maistr. . . . iij. mariners.

lxvj.^{s} viij.^{d} La Balynger appellee Le George dont Edward Hoper est maistr. . . iij. mariners.

lxvj.s viij.d La Balynger appellee Le Cracchere dont Steph^n Welles est maistr. . iij. mariners.
lxvj.s viij.d La Balyngere appellee Le Gabriell dont Andrewe Godefrey est maistr. . iij. mariners.
lxvj.s viij.d La Balynger appellee Le Litell Joh'n dont Joh'n Bull est maistr. . . ij. mariners.
La Balynger appellee Le James dont Javyn Cossard est maistr. pour le Holigost . . . . . ij. mariners.
La Balyngere appellee Le Swan dont . . . . Rowe est m. pour la Trinite . ij. mariners.
lxvj.s viij.d La Balyngere appellee Le Kateryne dont Javyn Dene est maistr. . . ij. mariners.

LETTER XXXII.

King Henry the Fifth to the Bishop of Durham, respecting his Uncle of Exeter, and directing certain preferments.

[FROM THE *Original* AMONG THE RECORDS IN THE TOWER.]

BY THE KYNG.

WORSHIPFUL fader yn God, ryght trusty and welbeloved, Yf yet be eny trewes to be taken now yis wynter betwene us and ye Scottes, We wold yat owr Uncle of Excetre[a] mygt come to us wiy his good heelp, and pray yow yat after yowre good avis and discrecion ye ordeyne for yis in ye best wise yat ye can, for yat doon we wold owre said Uncle were wiy us wiy his good heelp als sone as he might yow hit were yitte wiy the fewer meyne. Also we send a Lettre to owr Cosin ye Bysshop of Excetre for

[a] Thomas Beaufort, youngest natural son of John of Gaunt, created Duke of Exeter, A.D. 1416.

Maistre John Copthorne to come to us, and a noyr to ye Bysshop of Lincoln for Maistre Thomas Brounce in ye same wise, the whiche lettres we pray you yat yey be redely send forye and yat in al haast as we trust to yow. And ye Holy Trinite have yow alwey in his kepyng. Wreten under our Signet atte owr Towne of Caen ye xxv. day of Septembre. Ferymore we wol yat to ye Chirche of Hambury yat is voide by Maistre William Corff yat is passed to God, as hit is saide, and longey to owr yifte ye presented in owr name John Woborne oon of ye Prestes of owr Chapelle yat sojourneth at Wyndesore by owr lettres therof to be maad in due forme. Also yat ye do make lettres patents unto Maistre Richard Holme to be Maistre of owr College of Cambrigg̃ as Maistre Richard Derham was. Also we have yeven to William Hayton yempension of Sar. yat whan tyme is ye do him have suche lettres yrupon as ye cas asketh.

Au reverend Pere en Dieu Levesque de Duresme nostre Chanceller Dengleterre.

LETTER XXXIII.

King Henry the Sixth to the Abbot of St. Edmundsbury, for the immediate payment of a benevolence.

[REGIST. MON. S. EDM. DE BURG. MS. ADDIT. BRIT. MUS. 7096. fol. 99 b.]

*** This Letter was written in 1442, and shews the straits to which Henry the Sixth was even then reduced. The paragraph de-

serving most notice is that which relates to the storming of St. Severin. The King says, the Adversary of France had slain there "to the nombre of four thousand people or thereabouts." The French historians make a slighter mention of the slaughter. Nicole Gilles, who was secretary to Louis XI. and lived near the time, says four hundred;[a] Monstrelet, eight hundred.[b] Either the French, to conceal their cruelty, lessened the number slain; or Henry's ministers, to extract money the quicker, magnified the loss.

St. Sever and Dax were both in what is now the Department of Landes.

Belleforest says, "Tartas pris le Roy fut assieger S. Sever lors fortifiée de trois faux-bourgs clos et remparez, et ayans les fossez larges et profonds, et ce nonobstant fut la place emportée d'assaut, et les premiers qui y entrerent furent ceux de l'escadron du Connestable, lesquels la forcerent du *costé* qui regarde le chemin de Bourdeaux, et y furent faictes de grandes cruautez, a cause que les assiegez s'estoient monstrez par trop opiniastres, et à se deffendre et à ne vouloir venir à composition quelconque."[c]

BY THE KING.

RIGHT dere in God, we grete you hertely wele and for asmoche as oure capital adversarie of France and his Soon with grete puissance beth entred in to oure Duchie of Guyenne, and have by force and violence geten grete parte of oure landss there, and subdued oure subgittz there, and in especial the good towne of Seint Severyns where in thei haue slain to the nombre of iiij. M[l]. peple or there aboute, the whiche Contrees and Towne of tyme that noo mynde is, haue be vndre the paisible rule, gou'nance, and obeisance of oure progenitours and predecessours Kings of Engelande, and of vs, withoute

[a] Annales et Croniques de France; fol. Par. 1562, tom. ii. fol. 99 b.

[b] Monstrelet, Johnes's Transl., 4to. edit., iii. 359.

[c] Les Grandes Annales et Hist. Generale de France, des le Regne de Philippe de Valois jusques a Henry III.; Par. 1579, tom. ii. p. 1132.

any interupcion. And as yit oure said Aduersaire with his saide puissance is in oure saide Duchie, and hath geten oure Citie and Castel of Ax, and hath laid siege to Baioñ and dooth that that he can to subdue al our said Duchie, and is fully avised to ley siege to oure good Citie of Burdeaux, the whiche thing doing is and shuld be to grete an hurte, and to shameful a thing vnto vs and vnto alle oure welle willing louers and subgitts; and also of lyklyhode to be destruccion of the Navie of this oure lande; and cause of many othir inconuenientes and hurtes that myght falle to this oure Reaume, lordships, and subgittz, that God forbede: and on lesse than hasty pureance and remedie to resiste theim by puissance be made in this behalf, to grete a losse and shameful a thing vnto us and this our Reaume that God ne wolde ne ye as We truste. The whiche purveance cannot soo hastely be made as the necessite asketh with oute the helpe of you and othir oure well willing lowers and subgittz. And therfore considered that that is aboue saide, and what losse, hurt, and greuance the seid Duchie and strengthes therof being in oure saide Aduersaries handes shulde be vn to vs, and also what reproche, shame, and vilanie shulde be caste thorugh the worlde vpon vs and this our Reaume, lordshipps, and subgittz if it were not convenably resisted to the malice of oure saide Aduersaire. What inconuenients also myght falle vnto oure said Duchie and subgittz therin if it were not

bytyme by puissance relieued and rescued, also thimportable labours and charges that oure subgittz of oure seid Duchie dayly bere and kepe to be vndre oure true obeissance. Pray yȣ therfor hertely that ye soo tendryng thees oure necessitees wol lene vnto vs for the socours and relief of oure seid Duchie suche a notable summe of mony to be paied in hande as oure seruaunt berer of thees shal desire of you; to whom herein, and in suche othir things as he shal shewe and seye vn to you be mouthe in this behalf We wil and pray you to yeue him feith and credence. Yeuen vndre oure signet at oure Manoir of Sheen the xxiiij. day of August.

To our right dere in God
Th' Abbot of Bury.

LETTER XXXIV.

King Henry the Sixth to the Abbot of St. Edmundsbury, for the loan of a hundred marks preparatory to his marriage. A.D. 1443.

[REGISTR. ABB. S. EDM. DE BURGO. ADDIT. MS. MUS. BRIT. 7096. fol. 108 b.]

*** The Abbot of St. Edmundsbury had received a prior letter dated from Sheen, July 19th, couched, with one exception, in similar terms. The Letter before the reader names a hundred marks as the sum desired, for which an Exchequer tally was to be assigned: the previous one called for a "preste under surety covenable of such a sum of money as should be specified by the bearer of the letter, to whom faith and credence were to be given." (See

the same MS. fol. 107 b.) Demur, in acceding to the first request, probably occasioned the second application.

BY THE KYNG.

RIGHT dere in God we grete you wele, and holde for certain that it is not unknowen vn to you now late a goo we sent our right trusty and right welbelouyd Cousin Therl of Suff', our right welbelouyd clerk maist Adam Moleyns doctour of Lawe, Dean of Salesbury keper of our priue seel, and other with theim to our Reaume of Fraunce for diuis matiers touching the prosperite worship and welfare of vs and of our landes and subgetts, by whos notable and aduisy labours and diligences it hath liked our Lord to shewe vs his grete fauour and graces in diuis maniers, and in especial to prouide vs of a Quene of heigh and noble birthe enduyd with yiftys of grace and nature, So as it is supposid that We and all our trewe subgietts and welwillers haue and shal haue cause to thanke our Lord therfor. And for as moche as it is not acording to our Worship nor to oure hertis ease that the comyng of hir in to this our Reaume be long taried or delaied, we purpose with the grace of our Lord to dispose and ordeigne that she shal be conduted vnto vs in all haste goodly possible in suche wise as it shal be accordyng to th'estate and worship of vs, of hir, and of this our Reaume: and that done to purveye for the solempnite of hir Coronacion in maner and fourme accustumed. Over

this for your especial reioising and confort We late you wite that We stande in right good truste and hope of a pees finalle to be concluded and had betwixe vs and our Oncle of Fraunce, for the laisir and oportunite of appointing of whiche ther is taken bytwix vs and oure Oncle a trewes for a certain tyme vndir the whiche the seid pees shall mowe behouefully be treted to a good conclusion and ende. And for asmuche as the things abouesaid may not be executed and fulfilled with oute ful grete and notable sommes of good and dispenses, and that the grete and importable charges that We of longe tyme haue born, namely for the Werres and defense of this our Reaume, haue bared vs gretely of tresore and redy good, We write vn to you and pray you right hertely and as ye loue and tendre the worship and welfare of vs and in especial of this our Reaume, ye shewe us in this our necessite and good wille, easing vs by wey of apprest of the summe of c. marks, and that ye wol sende it in to the Receipte of our Eschequer in alle goodly haste after the sighte of thees, and at the ferreste be the feste of the Natiuite of our Lady next comyng, there for to be delivered to the Tresorer and Chamberleins of our Eschequer or ellys to suche a persone or persones there as beth deputed and assigned to receive it; lating yȣ wite that at the tyme of the deliverance therof ther shall be made and delivered vn to the bringer therof for you and in your name sufficient as-

signement for your repaiement therof by tailles to be rered at the said Eschequier and also by our lettres patents therupon to be made. So that of reason ye shal holde you content And in semblable maner and fourme as is and shal be delivered to every other persone that in this our necessite haue and wol lene vnto us any monneye. And We pray you that ye faille vs not herinne as our singler truste is in you, and as ye desire our worship for and in thees our necessitees as aboue. Yeuen vndir our Priue seel at Westm. the xvij. day of August.

LETTER XXXV.

The King to the Abbot of Bury, for horses against the Queen's arrival. A.D. 1443.

[REGISTR. ABB. S. EDM. DE BURGO. ADDIT. MS. BRIT. MUS. 7096. fol. 109.]

BY THE KYNG.

TRUSTY and welbeloued in God We grete you wele, and for asmuche as it hath liked our Lord to couple vs by wey of mariage with the doughter and high mighty Prince our fadir the King of Cicile and Jerusalem, and that for oure grete comfort, We desire in al haste our said moost entierly welbeloued Wifes presence, for whos conduyt schal be necessary many horses, as wele palfreies, as for chares, charietts,

somꝭes, and other, of the which We be not puryeied as yit, We therfor pray you that yif ye haue eny such horses which shal be thought vn to the bringer herof necessary and behoueful for vs, ye wil deliuꝭe thaim vnto him vpon such price as shal be thought resonnable; yeuyng further vnto the seid bringer ful feith and credence in that he shal sey vn to you in this behalue. And that ye shewe vs your good wille and beniuolence in this partie as ye wol desire vs to shewe vn to you the fauor of our good grace in tyme to come: Yeuen vndir our signet at our Manoir withinne our Parke of Wyndesore the xxviij. day of August.

To our trusty and welbelouyd in God the Abbot of Bury.

LETTER XXXVI.

Richard Earl of Warwick, captain of Calais, Edward Earl of March, Richard Earl of Salisbury, and William Nevil Lord Fauconbridge, to the Bishop of Teramo, the papal Legate, prior to their entering upon the Expedition which dethroned King Henry the Sixth. A.D. 1460.

[VATICAN TRANSCRIPTS, vol. xxxiv. p. 92. EX AUTOGR. LIBRO MEMORAB. PII II. pag. xxv. ARM. iv. caps. iii.]

*** The following Letter discloses a circumstance, which, except in the Commentaries of Pope Pius the Second, has been hitherto unrecorded; namely, that that Pope in 1459 despatched a Legate to

England, partly in hope to reconcile the rival Houses, and partly to induce Henry the Sixth to join the power of his country in a Crusade.

The Legate despatched on this occasion was Francesco de Coppini Bishop of Teramo,[a] who joined the party of the House of York, fostered the dissensions he was sent to heal, and, as we learn from Pius the Second's own statement, even excommunicated those who adhered to the royal party. The present Letter was one of great formality; it had the seals as well as the signs-manual of all the writers attached to it. Coppini was evidently at Calais when he received this Letter, although it is dated from thence: for it offers him a vessel to go in haste and press upon the King the honour and integrity of the intentions of these Lords, both to him and to the country, confirmed by their oath. It alludes also to their possession of the King's fleet, which our Chronicles tell us they had previously seized at Sandwich.

Suffice it to say that the Pope became incensed at Coppini's perversion of his mission, as well as at the enormous bribes in plate and money which he had received. He recalled him without delay: imprisoned him in the Castle of St. Angelo: subsequent to which, Coppini made a full confession of his guilt. He was finally deprived of his bishoprick, and, changing the name of Francesco to Ignatius, became a Monk in the Benedictine monastery of St. Paul at Rome, and died, the date unrecorded, in obscurity.[b] He was succeeded in the bishoprick of Teramo, in 1463, by Louis of Genoa.

[a] He was created bishop by Calixtus III. 19th May, 1458.

[b] The passage in Pope Pius II.'s Commentaries relating these facts at length is here presented to the reader. "Angliæ regina, quam supra diximus auxiliis à Ludovico rege Franciæ impetratis in Scotiam navigasse, dum ista fiunt, in parte Angliæ boreali ultra Eboracum bellum innovat, et aliquot castella expugnat: occurrunt regis Edwardi copiæ, et inito certamine, Scotos Gallosque fugant, castella recuperant: et intercepta eis præsidia, quæ regis Henrici nomen profitentur, crudeliter necant: Francis, qui se Ludovico militasse aiunt, ut se redimant potestatem faciunt. Hac victoria consternati omnes, qui partes Henrici tuebantur, ad Edwardum defecere, duce Somerseti viam monstrante, ac stultum esse dicente, sæpius adversus Dei voluntatem pertinaci animo depugnare: illum, ut videtur, Eduardo regnum promisisse: proinde nolle se divinæ voluntati resistere, seque victori permisit, à quo receptus in gratiam, paternam hereditatem consecutus est: Eduardo regnum confirmatum: Henricus in Scotia curarum expers ac modico contentus remansit. Regina cum filio ad Ludovicum mœsta et inops consilii in Franciam rediit.

"Has regni Anglici mutationes, Galli, et qui eis consentiebant, Francisco Interamnensi episcopo imputabant, qui missus in Angliam ad imploranda contra Turcas auxilia, placandamque gentem, dissidium excitasset, partes regis excommunicasset,

How much the Earl of March afterwards considered himself and his cause indebted to the Legate, may be seen by an entry upon the Patent Roll of his first year: by which he granted to this Bishop of Teramo an annuity of £100, secured upon the custom duties of the ports of Southampton and London, and payable at the Exchequer, till he could be provided within the kingdom with ecclesiastical preferment: granting to him at the same time, and to his

adversis æterna salute promissa benedixisset, nec vanus erat rumor: Ambitio et ingentia promissa Franciscum deceperant, cui Pontifex recognita, ut ad se quam propere reverteretur, litteras dedit. Ipse sibi conscius ac timens, Eduardi regis et aliorum principum commendationes emendicavit; et tanquam procurator Anglorum, ac Francisci Mediolanensium ducis consiliarius ad curiam remeavit; multa in suam purgationem adducens. Cumque auri vascula et gemmas pretiosas ex Anglia attulisset, quamplures (venalem namque suam legationem fecerat) ex mammona iniquitatis amicos sibi paraverat, quorum præsidio Pontificis sibi aures conciliaret. In Apostolico quoque palatio Cardinalis Theanensis et Gilifortus Thesaurarius veteri secum amicitia juncti erant, et amico ne periclitaretur operas navabant. Dissimulavit aliquandiu Pontifex: at cum Roma discedens Viturvium petivisset, rumorque in dies crebresceret Interamnensem episcopum præter spem omnium ultionem evasisse, Jacobo Ptolomæo ut Episcopum caperet, atque in Hadriani mole retineret, occulte mandavit, eoque facto tabelliones et judices, qui reum diligenter examinarent, illico Romam misit: ille absque tormentis de vexillo, de anathemate, de ceteris objectis cuncta confessus est, et amplius simoniacæ labis multas turpitudines, qui beneficia per pecuniam contulisset: et sacros ordines, et indulgentias, et absolutiones: scripsit confessionem suam manu propria, neque negare isthæc poterat: libri ejus intercepti, quos ipse dictaverat, atque signaverat, eadem continebant. Damnabant Cardinales, Prælatique fere omnes episcopum indemnatum in vincula conjectum esse, Pius clamoribus posthabitis clausum custodiri jussit, donec Romam reventum est: deinde confessionem rei ad se clam vocatis Auditoribus Rotæ, ac juramento adactis ne quid efferrent, examinandam tradidit; et qua pœna plectendus esset episcopus qui talia commisisset percunctatus est: illi tempore ad deliberandum obtento, post dies octo scriptam signatamque Rotæ sigillo suam sententiam attulere: qua privandum episcopatu reum, et ab ordine deponendum censuere, et in aliquo Monasterio detrudendum, ubi sua peccata perpetuo defleret. Vocatur deinde Consistorium secretum, in quo Pontifex Anglicana gesta commemorat, et cruentissima bella quibus Interamnensis episcopus minime jussus interfuerit, et Ecclesiæ vexillum erexerit sua manu consutum, confessionem ejus producit: deinde Cardinalium sententias exquirit: cumque mitiora nonnulli censerent, quam tanta scelera merentur, et amici episcopi comminuere delicta conarentur, consilium Rotæ in medium protulit: quo lecto erubuere defensores rei, et pars maxima Cardinalium in Auditorum sententiam pedibus ivit: Pius episcopum pro meritis Interamnensi privavit ecclesia, et ab ordine deposuit: ille postea sive religionis zelo accensus, sive quod in sæculo dignitate privatus vitam sibi molestissimam duceret, à Pontifice petiit ut liceret sibi in Monasterio Sancti Pauli cum monachis Cassinensibus, alias Sanctæ Justinæ divi Benedicti ordinem profiteri indultum est, et ut in presbyteratus ordine ministrare posset, concessum: nec mora habitus datus, et pro Francisco, Ignatii nomen assumptum, sub quo in hanc usque diem sine reprehensione Domino famulatur: Monachus melior quam Episcopus, si cœptum tenuerit iter." Comment. Pii Papæ II. fol. Franc. 1614, p. 377.

two nephews, Bartholomew and Thomas Coppini, (and to the heirs male and lineal descendants of each,) the privilege of bearing in the upper portion of their shield of arms "a white rose, our device."[c]

REVERENDISSIME in Christo Pater et Domine D. Episc. Interamnensis Apostolicæ Sedis Legate, Quia videmus magnam ruinam et crudelissimam cædem preparatam in regno Angliæ propter injurias quamplurimas contra Rempublicam perpetratas, ac propter injurias ill. et excell. domino Duci Eboracensi et suis, nobis et nostris factas, et cupimus ista evitare, ideo vocavimus per nostras litteras et rogavimus reverendissimam paternitatem vestram, quam intelleximus habere potestatem et commissionem ista tractandi et interponendi partes suas ad pacem. Et quamvis altissimo in favorem nostri ex habundantia gratiæ suæ plura placuerit ordinare, et alia multa sint parata in favorem nostrum, quia tamen non volumus esse ingrati Deo, et ad hoc ut Dominatio vestra in vanum non queratur se esse vocatam, sumus contenti habita reformatione dictarum injuriarum, et si restituantur præfato D. Duci Eboracensi et suis, nobis et nostris, bona et dominia sua et suorum, nostra et nostrorum, et reponantur; ac reponamur in statum pristinum expendere introitus nostros in servitium Regis et Regni. Et ut Reverenda Dominatio vestra intelligere possit verum zelum et favorem quos erga Regiam Majestatem et Rempublicam semper gessimus

[c] Pat. 1 Edw. IV. p. 2. m. 56.

et gerimus fideliter serviendo, parati personas nostras exponere, ad conquistandum jura et terras pertinentia juri regio Angliæ, dummodo habeamus Classem maritimam Regis cum nostra, et exercitum competentem cum sustentatione debita. Et ne in istam Expeditionem, adimpletis supradictis quando placebit Regiæ Majestati, speramus enim ita et taliter operari quod honeste omnes poterunt satis habere et contentari. Et alia etiam sumus parati facere, quæ Reverendæ Dominationi vestræ videbuntur honesta, considerata qualitate temporis et personarum, et veritate justitiæ et bonæ intentionis nostræ in effectu quam quærimus, et parati sumus opere demonstrare, sicut ex præmissis, de quibus pauca dicimus quia Dominatio vestra reverenda fuit in Anglia et in Calesio, et omnia vidit et cognovit; et speramus in justitia et bona fama vestra. Alias si ista non concedentur nobis, vel non fiat honesta concordia, sicut vestra Dominatio reverendissima bene videt, nos sumus parati, et habemus favores, et necessitas nos impellit experiri arma et fortunam nostram, et speramus in Domino quia habemus justitiam, et non incedimus contra honorem vel statum Regis et Regni, set pro honore et gloria utriusque, et pro bono reipublicæ, et pro nostra justitia laboramus, quia omnia alia nobis remedia sunt denegata. Et ut non perdamus tempus nostrum, intendimus habere responsum cum festinantia. Itaque Dominatio vestra provideat quod

non teneamur in verbis, quia non expectabimus diu, quam res nostræ et causa nostra non patiuntur. Promittimus autem Deo omnipotenti, et reverendæ Paternitati vestræ tamquam vero Legato Apostolico, quod servata fidelitate Serenissimo Regi nostro erimus fideles et devoti ac obedientes Sanctissimo Patri et Sedi Apostolicæ in omnibus licitis et honestis, et maxime pro causa Fidei, et auxilio Christianorum contra Turchos, et omnibus aliis concernentibus honorem et statum Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ et Sanctæ Sedis Apostolicæ, ac reverendissimæ paternitati vestræ perpetuo Caritatis vinculo erimus astricti, et ita verbo et opere, juxta posse nostrum conabimur demonstrare: ita nos Deus juvet et sancta Dei Evangelia, per quæ juramus in manibus ejusdem Paternitatis vestræ reverendissimæ. Rogamus autem P. vestram reverendissimam quod dignetur pertransire mare, et nos providebimus de bono passagio, et ire cum festinantia ad Regiam Majestatem, quam scimus esse Paternitati vestræ bene affectam, et significare intentionem nostram bonam ei, eidem Majestati nos commendare, et operari pro bono publico justitiæ. Et in fidem premissorum omnium Nos Ricardus Nevill Warvici capitaneus Villæ Calesiæ, Edvardus Comes Marchiarum, Ricardus Nevill Comes Saresberiæ et Willelmus Nevill Dominus de Fauconberge sigillavimus propriis sigillis et signis nostris manualibus signavimus, promittentes etiam facere et curare cum

effectu quod prefatus Ill. dominus Dux Eboracensis rata et grata habebit omnia suprascripta. Datum in Villa Calesiæ die 25 Junij 1460.

LETTER XXXVII.

Francesco Coppini, the Papal Legate, to King Henry the Sixth, offering his mediation between the King and the Lords from Calais. A.D. 1460.

[VATICAN TRANSCRIPTS, vol. xxxiv. fol. 95. EX AUTOGR. LIBRO MEMORABILIUM PII II. p. xxvi. ARM. xiv. caps. iii.]

*** We learn from this Letter that Coppini did not come to the King in the vessel which the preceding Letter offered; but that he came absolutely in the train of the rebel Lords, and arrived in London with them. For this he apologises: the rapidity of their movement, the shortness of the time, the insecurity of the way, were his reasons. The Letter of the Lords to Coppini is dated at Calais, 25th of June: Coppini's to the King, in London, the 3rd of July. The picture which he incidentally draws of the tumult and confusion through the country as he passed is forcible; and his threats to terrify the King are as menacing as a Legate might be supposed to have the courage to utter to one whom he thought he could cajole. It is remarkable that, long as this Letter is, Coppini nowhere makes the remotest allusion in it to the Queen.

Not only from this Letter, but from a Patent preserved in Rymer, dated Dec. 4th, 1460, directing that Coppini should be offered the first bishoprick he might choose which should become vacant, the two archbishopricks, and the Sees of Lincoln, Winton, Durham, and Bath and Wells only excepted, it might be supposed that he had ingratiated himself with Henry the Sixth; and that that unfortunate King was disposed to shew him distinguished favour. But the Patent finishes, "Per ipsum Regem et de data prædicta, *auctoritate Parliamenti;*" shewing that the King was absent. The Metropolis and the Parliament were at that moment in the power of the

Yorkists. The King had gone northward. The battle of Wakefield was fought on Dec. 30th.

Edward the Fourth, when the Pope's recall came, gave Coppini such support as he could, probably in the hope to break his fall, by appointing him to be his proctor at Rome for ecclesiastical causes and promotions, by Patent dated 20th of Nov. 1461, three days only before the other Patent already mentioned was granted, of a conditional annuity and an heraldic distinction.

SERENISSIME Princeps et excellentissime Rex, post humillimam commendationem. Ex Brugiis et ex Calesio jam multis diebus scripsi Serenitati vestræ quomodo isti Domini de Calesio, servitores vestræ Majestatis, me vocaverant rogantes et supplicantes ut partes meas interponerem ad tractandam et conjiciendam pacem, et tollendas civiles discordias in regno vestro, postquam a Sede Apostolica ita intellexerant mihi esse commissum et mandatum, affirmantes mihi per suas litteras, quarum copiam tunc Majestati vestræ transmisi, et similiter reverendissimo D. Cant. ut per illum cæteris omnibus dominis innotescerent, qui erant dispositi ad tales conditiones pacis, quod sine dubio sperabant, me interveniente, Majestati vestræ placituras. Et scripsi eidem Majestati, quod hac honesta petitione constrictus ibam ad eos auditurus conditiones pacis, ut illas postea Majestati V. vel per me ipsum referrem, vel per litteras nuntiarem. Supplicabam finaliter E. Majestati vestræ, quod super istis dignaretur pia meditatione pensare, ut adveniente tempore, de salutari conclusione, auctore

Domino, provideri posset. Postea vero Se. Princeps veniens Calesiam ex novo casu, et nova accidentia, inveni quasi omnia in turbine, et illos dominos jam paratos ad transitum in Angliam propter causas emergentes non posse. Et nihilominus post aliquam communicationem cum eis habitam, et exhortationes meas ad bonum pacis et obedientiæ, de quibus per literas mihi fidem dederant, inveni eos dispositos et ad devotionem et ad obedientiam Majestatis vestræ, et ad illius honorem, et sui regni bonum publicum quantum in eis esset conservandum et augendum: sed tamen desiderantes ad E. Majestatem vestram venire et recipi in gratiam et statum pristinum, a quibus asserebant se expulsos et exclusos per invidiam emulorum, et post multa finaliter rogantes et supplicantes ut transire cum mare vellem et meas partes interponerem ad ista componenda ut sanguis effusio vitaretur, et offerentes mihi ea omnia facere et acceptare quæ honesta et justa essent, et mihi viderentur pro honore et statu Celsitudinis vestræ, et bono publico sui Regni, et specialiter quædam in scriptis sub sigillis propriis ac juramentis tradiderunt et promiserunt, quæ postquam fuerunt visa per Se. V. quieto et libero animo, credo firmissime placitura E. Majestati quum sunt ad gratiam et honorem Coronæ vestræ, et exaltationem publicam Regni, et honorem ac commodum Principum ac Dominorum. Et iterum replico si daretur locus et securitas quieto animo com-

municandi sperabam pro certo ista omnia scandalosa quæ futura tunc videbam, et postea jam in promptu parata esse videmus posse componi, ac cessare cum laude Dei et gloria vestræ Majestatis et bono publico totius Regni. Hac igitur spe ductus, cum viderem periculum in mora, transivi cum eis, cum alium modum, aut aliam viam non haberem: fuit tamen res eorum, et ipsorum adventus atque cursus magis velox ac repentinus, quam ab initio etiam ipsi crederent vel sperarent propter concursum populorum, qui mirabili quodam desiderio illorum adventum et reintegrationem et unionem totius Regni desiderare videntur: Propter quas causas nec ego potui accelerare magis iter meum ut ad Se. V. transirem, deficiente mihi spatio temporis, et etiam impedientibus periculis viarum propter concursum variarum gentium. Isti enim die Jovis transiverunt mare, et, continuatis semper itineribus suis, pervenerunt Londonias, ex quo loco cum vellem ire ad Majestatem vestram, ut officium Pastoris etiam fidelis ac devoti nuntii et mediatoris implerem, inveni multas difficultates et multa pericula quæ saluti meæ imminent in via, et maxime propter latratum et murmurationem, atque insidias quorumdam qui asserunt se devotos Majestatis vestræ et non sunt, qui multis modis contra Deum et veritatem, et contra bonum status vestri obloquuntur, volentes et culpare partes meas et operationes meas sanctas et pias, et hoc faciunt quia

sunt inimici pacis; sed adjuvante Domino spero quod in brevi Se. Vestra cognoscet et experietur veritatem, fidelitatem, et devotionem meam sinceram et puram, et laudabit Dominum in operibus meis quando videbit statum suum restauratum, et oculos suos jam apertos, ut fugatis tenebris mendacii videat veritatem. Ita operante Deo propter puram et sanctam intentionem vestram, et fidem meam, ac piam et sanctam dispositionem Romani Pontificis ad honorem Dei, et statum vestrum; quæ cum ita sint Se. Princeps, et cum ego personaliter jam venire non possim propter manifesta pericula salutis meæ ac meorum, pro debito officii et devotionis meæ scribo istas literas Celsitudini vestræ, et supplico pro amore Dei et pro devotione quam Se. vestra semper habuit, et quantum in se fuit servavit ad res pias et sanctas, et proprietate et compassione, quas debet habere ad populum suum et cives suos, et pro debito ad quod tenetur de obviando tantæ effusioni sanguinis jam paratæ, cui potest providere si velit, et non providendo esset rea in conspectu Dei in tremendo illo judicio in quo ego quoque stabo, et requiretur de manu vestra sanguinem Anglicanum si effundatur, ut velit Serenitas vestra celeriter providere, quod priusquam veniatur ad arma possim secure communicare vobiscum super modis et conditionibus tenendis pro istis malis evitandis, ut unione componenda, quæ pro certo non est impossibilis, nec etiam multum difficilis si Serenitas vestra

cum suo libero animo ac judicio promittat se exorari et informari, nec attendat Majestas vestra si quis diceret, quod habetis justam causam pugnandi contra suos qui veniunt, et quum potestis sine pugna si vultis omnia facere justa et honesta quæ cum pugna et victoria faceretis; quæ tamen Victoria semper est periculosa, dubia in bello ut sepissime docet experientia, et cum sit in sola manu Dei non debet Se. V. sperare illam si contra suum mandatum pugnare elegerit; contra suum mandatum est pugnare cum aliter possimus vincere. Isti enim, Serenissime Princeps, offerunt obedientiam et fidelitatem Majestati vestræ, dum tamen causam eorum exponere possint tute et secure, et hoc dicunt non posse facere nisi manu forti veniant, sicut notorium est; tamen ab exercitio armorum volunt absistere si debitus et securus audientiæ modus concedatur; nam Scripturæ sententia est tunc necesse fore ad arma concurrere cum justitia apud adversarios aliter locum habere non potest.

Inveniatur ergo Serenissime Princeps modus tutus ut Serenitas vestra audire, et communicare possit cum his, qui non sunt partiales aut suspecti super veritate causæ et justitiæ, et non dubito quod omnia reparabuntur, et cum salute omnium dominorum. Et si post istam experientiam non videat M. V. sic esse, tunc poterit juste arma exercere, quæ ante hanc experientiam sic oblatam, et maxime per medium Legati et Nuntii Apostolici essent nefaria, impia, et

injusta, et contra honorem et voluntatem ac mandatum Dei.

Modus autem iste Se. Princeps communicandi invenietur si Serenitas vestra sequestratis illis, qui sunt hinc inde suspecti, homines medios et neutrales audire velit, et per se ipsam, de qua omnes confidunt; et hoc totum est necesse celeriter fieri, quia res dilationem non patitur, et scandala, homicidia, et infinita Christiani sanguinis effusio sunt parata, quæ ascendent ad conspectum Dei, et clamabunt contra omnes qui impedierint remedia, de quibus supra retuli in medium oblata. Et ut nulla sit excusatio coram Deo et hominibus, nec possit contra ista replicari quæ dico, Serenissime Princeps, iterum dico et replico, quod isti Domini servitores vestri, qui de Calesia venerunt offerunt se paratos omnia facere et implere pro bono et honore Coronæ vestræ, et unione ac pace Regni vestri, quæ mihi videbuntur honesta. Et ego offero Serenitati vestræ quod illa omnia proponam, et acceptabo quæ vestræ Majestati si libero judicio egerit, et remotis suspectis, etiam videbuntur honesta, et sic res est in tuto, et in manu Serenitatis vestræ ac mea si velimus.

Ego autem volo, et me exhibeo si Serenitas vestra velit, alias ego excusabo me coram Deo et Sancta Sede Apostolica, et toto Populo Anglicano, et mittam Copiam presentium Litterarum in testimonium omni populo, quod pro me non stetit implere offi-

cium veri Apostoli et boni mediatoris et veri Prelati, et ero immunis a culpa quicquid cæteri faciant, vel operentur. Serenitas vestra me diu vidit, et cognovit progressus meos, et requiro conscientiam vestram in testimonium si fui verus, fidelis, planus, et devotus. Et licet aliqui maledicti detrahentes, quod fui in Calesia et communicavi cum istis, et quod ideo sum suspectus, et reliqua etiam mala cumulant, Serenitas vestra bene novit quod longiori tempore per annum et quasi semis fui cum Serenitate vestra, et in vestro Regno continue conversando, tractando opera Dei et Christianæ Religionis ex commissione sedis Apostolicæ cum integritate et puritate fidei, et cum illis non fui nisi modicum, et tamen novit, quod est officium meum necessarium communicare cum ambabus partibus ad tractandam concordiam, et ita est in mandatum a sede Apostolica. Ita nam requiret et aliter fieri non potest. Et debet Serenitas vestra aperire bene oculos suæ mentis quod isti tales obloquentes sunt secretarii et ministri diaboli, qui non volunt pacem, non volunt unionem, non volunt bonum, et integritatem Regni vestri. Dixi et scripsi, sæpeque Majestati vestræ commemoravi verba Evangelica, 'Regnum in se divisum desolabitur;' annuntiavi verbo et litteris, et frequenter idem fecit S. d. n. Papa periculum et ruinam status Regni vestri, nisi aliter ad Deum, et suas pias causas convertantur; quomodo illud factum sit, Majestas vestra bene novit. Ecce

Deus flagellat eos, percutit eos ut resurgant, ut resipiscant, ut convertantur et vivant. Sed si obduraverint aures suas sicut surdi! Ve illis, ve etiam Majestati vestræ, quod dolenter dico, nisi prövideat cum pace quando potest. Potest autem nunc si me audiat, si me intelligat, qui sum Nuntius Dei, Nuntius Apostolicus, non quærens quæ mea sunt vos vidistis. Satis estis experti quia sic est si me etiam nunc audire volueritis. Excuso me coram Deo omnipotenti, et excusabo coram Sancta Sede Apostolica, et mittam Copiam presentium litterarum, et in tremendo illo judicio surgam contra omnes qui pacem et reparationem istorum malorum impediverint. Et ideo dignetur Majestas vestra bene advertere, et cavere debet ut non sit in illo numero, quia principaliter de manu vestra requiretur sanguis Anglicanus si effundatur. Expecto responsum, quid sit intentionis vestræ, et quid ego sim facturus, quod cum celeritate est fiendum, quia causa dilationem non patitur. Datum Londoniis die iij. Julij MCCCCLX.

Commendo me Celsitudini vestræ, quam Deus benedicere dignetur, et ad pacem illuminare et accendere, ut tantis malis et periculis obvietur, et ut hæc impia arma contra inimicos Crucis convertantur; omnipotens Deus per suam misericordiam illuminare dignetur oculos vestræ mentis, et suorum ut ad se convertantur, et sint memores hæreditatis nobis relictæ a Domino et Salvatore nostro Jesu Christo di-

cente in suo transitu ex hoc mundo ad Patrem, "Pacem meam do vobis, pacem meam relinquo vobis," et det vobis gratiam ut hereditatem ipsam per ingratitudinem non perdatis. Revertatur ergo Majestas vestra ad suam primam naturam, bonitatem, et mansuetudinem, et secundum illam solam per se ipsam, remotis arbitris, aut cum solis mediatoribus non suspectis eligat et judicet viam bonam: nam Evangelicam, honestam, et salutarem. Si cupit non argui a Domino in illo horribili et tremendo Judicio in quo stabimus omnes ante tribunal Christi reddituri rationem de singulis, præcipue de tanto sanguinis Anglicani diluvio quantum paratum esse ante oculos videmus et providere possumus si Majestas V. voluerit, sicut ego supra retuli et obtuli. Dixi. Ego enim me excusabo testimonio præsentium litterarum, quas per fidelem et juratum Nuntium de familia V. Cel. transmisi et etiam ad cautelam in generali convocatione et Cleri et Populi London publicari feci, ut ad vestræ Majestatis notitiam pervenirent. Et expecto responsum celeriter per latorem præsentium, quia materia non patitur dilationem. Ex London. Die iij. Julij M.CCCC.LX.

E. M^tis. V. FRANCISCUS Episcopus Interamnensis
Apostolicæ Sedis Legatus.

LETTER XXXVIII.

The Chancellor and University of Oxford to Sir John Say, to repay a hundred Shillings which they had advanced to his brother when Proctor of the University, for a purpose not performed.

[MS. COTTON. VESPAS. F. XIII. fol. 50. *Orig.*]

*** William Say, brother of Sir John Say, was of New College, Oxford, and Proctor of the University in 1440. He left New College in 1442, having been appointed Dean of the Chapel Royal. He afterwards took the degree of D.D.; and on Nov. 21, 1457, was elected Dean of St. Paul's. He died Nov. 23, 1468. The following Letter states to Sir John Say that in former Proctors' accompts, remaining "yearly in remembrance," the sum of a hundred shillings hung upon the name of the right reverend father his brother. This Letter, dated Nov. 15th, must have been written in 1469, twenty-eight years after William Say had held the Proctor's office.

RYGHT worshipful our trusty and entierly welbeloued, after harty commendacyon Please you to wite that amongs tharrerages of thaccomptes of the Prouctours that haue been of this Vniuersitie of Oxonford, remayneth yeerly yn remembrance the Soñ of c.^{s} hangyng apon the name of ryght reverent ffader your Brother late Deane of Poulys, whos soule God assoyle, which Suñ by Record of our Acts was delyuerid to your seid worshipful Brother than beyng Proctor of this Vniuersitie to an entent not yet perfourmed. We therfor as wel for the loue that we yn comen ow to the hono^{r} of his name and of yours, that

wer som tyme child of this same Modyr, as to thes-chewing of pereſt of his soule, exhorte pray and requyr you to send by the berer her'of the seid Sum of c.ˢ to our gret necessites as ye may yeue Us cause to pray the mor' tendirly for the seid soule and your good prosperite, to God, who haue you yn his blissid kepyng. Writen yn the house of our Congregatyon the xv. day of Nouembr.

Yoʳ trew and harty louers

THE CHANCELLR AND THUNIUſSITIE OF OXONFORD.

To the Ryght Worshipful our trusty and entierly welbeloued Syr John Say Knyght.

LETTER XXXIX.

John De la Pole Duke of Suffolk, to his Bailiff of his manor of Mandevilles.

[HARL. MS. 4713. *Orig.*]

*** John De la Pole, having married the King's sister Elizabeth, was created Duke of Suffolk by letters patent, 23 March 3 Edw. IV. Mandevilles and Westhorp Hall were both in Suffolk.

THOMAS GEFFERY y woll and charg yoᵉ that ye delyver vnto my trusty seruyant Robert Restold the hole fferme off my Man' off Movndeuyles off the yer last passyd endyd at Mychyllmas and this byll off mȳ awn hande shalbe to yoʳ suffycynt Dyscharge aynst

me and mȳ heyrys. Wryttyn at Westorp iiijth day off Octobr̃ in the xxij. yer off Kyng Edward the iiijth.

SUFFOLK.

LETTER XL.

King Richard the Third's Privy Seal: granting to Ralph Banastre the manor of Yalding in Kent, late belonging to the Duke of Buckingham, in reward for bringing the Duke into the King's hands.

[HARL. MS. 433. fol. 133.]

*** Hall's account of Banastre is not entirely to be relied upon. His first mistake is in the name: he calls him Humfrey, and not Ralph Banastre. Having enumerated the precautions which Richard the Third took that the Duke of Buckingham, after the failure of his plot, should not escape apprehension, Hall says,

"He made Proclamation that what person could shew and reveal where the Duke of Buckingham was, should be highly rewarded: if he were a bondman, he should be enfranchised and set at liberty; if he were of free blood, he should have a general pardon, and be remunerate with a thousand pounds." He then adds, "While this busy search was diligently applied and put in execution, Homfrey Banaster (were it more for fear of loss of life and goods, or attracted and provoked by the avaricious desire of the thousand pounds) he bewrayed his guest and master to John Mitton, then sherif of Shropshire, which suddenly with a strong power of men in harness apprehended the Duke in a little grove adjoining to the mansion of Homfrey Banaster, and in great haste and evil speed conveyed him, apparelled in a pilled black cloak, to the city of Salisbury, where King Richard then kept his household.

"Whether this Banaster bewraid the Duke more for fear than covetous, many men do doubt: but sure it is, that, shortly after he had betraid the Duke his master, his son and heir waxed mad, and so died in a boar's stye; his eldest daughter, of excellent beautie,

was suddainly stricken with a foul lepry; his second son, very marvellously deformed of his limbs, and made decrepit; his younger son, in a small puddle was strangled and drowned; and he, being of extreme age, arraigned and found gilty of a murder, and by his clergy saved. And as for his thousand pound, King Richard gave him not one farthing, *saying that he which would be untrue to so good a master would be false to all other.* Howbeit, some say that he had a small office or a farm to stop his mouth withal."

In this Letter, however, the King speaks of "the good and faithful service of his well-beloved servant Rauff Banastre, Esquire," and gives him the revenues of the lordship of Yalding, with three months' retrospective profits.

Banastre had but a short enjoyment of his reward. Henry the Seventh soon after his accession restored Edward Stafford to his father's lands and honours, and amongst the former to the lordship of Yalding. What afterwards became of Banastre is not recorded, except in the passage above quoted from Hall.

RICHARD, &c. To all and singler Thofficers, ffermors and Tenaunts of the Manor and Lordship of Ealding, with th'appurtenances in our Countie of Kent, late belonging our gret rebell and traitor the Duc of Buckingham, and by reason of his rebellion now in our yeft and disposicion, and to all other our subgietts thise presents, for to se or here, greting. Wit ye that in consideracion of the true and feithfull service which our welbeloved servaunt Rauff Banastre squier now late hath done unto us for and about the taking and bringing of our said rebell into our hands, We have yeven unto the said Rauff and his heires masles for ever the said maner and lordship with th'appertenaunces; he and his said heires yeld-

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ing and paieng aswele the rents, services, and dueties goyng out of the same Maner with th'appertenaunces, as unto Thomas Jebbe yerely iiij.li for terme of his lyff, according to our lettres patents to him made; and after the decesse of the said Thomas, the said Rauff and his said heires to pay unto us and our heires for ever the said iiij.li for Castell warde unto our Castell of Rouchestre; and have comaunded the said Rauff to entre into the same maner and lordship, and the revenues of the same, growen and to growe, sethens Michilmesse last past, to receive and take to his owin us. Wherfore we woll and charge you that unto him in executing theffect of this our said gift and graunt ye be obeieng, ading, answering, and assisting, as ye and every of you woll advoide our grevouse pleasur at your perills. Yeven under our signet at our Cite of London the xiij. day of Decembre the first yere of our Reigne.

*** The manor of Yalding was of the oldest patrimony of the Duke of Buckingham, having descended to him from Ralph de Stafford, one of the first Knights of the Garter, whom Edward the Third had created Earl of Stafford.

Hall relates a short anecdote, which may be worth recording here. "Very true it is that the Duke of Buckingham was an high-minded man, and evil could bear the glory of another: so that I have heard of some that saw it, that he at such time as the crown was set upon the Protector's head, his eye could never abide the sight thereof, but wryed his head another way."

LETTER XLI.

Louis the Eleventh of France to King Richard the Third, thanking him for News, apparently his Accession to the Throne.

[HARL. MS. 433. fol. 236 b.]

*** Richard acceded to the throne June 26, 1483. Louis the Eleventh died August 25 following.

MONS^r^. mon Cousin J'ay veu les Lettres que m'avez escriptez per vostre herault Blanc Sanglier, et vous m'cye des nouvelles que m'avais fait savoir et se je vous puis faire quelq seruice je le feray de tres-boon cueur car Je vueil bien avoir vostre Amytie. A Dieu Mons^r^. mon Cousin. Escript aux Montilz les tours le xxj^me^. jour de Jullet. LOYS.

Villechartre.

LETTER XLII.

Richard the Third to the Keeper of the Privy Seal, to prepare Letters of Commission for the alteration of the Coin of Ireland, and settling the places of Mintage: the Irish money having been circulated in England, to the damage and inconvenience of the English subjects.

[HARL. MS. 433. fol. 233.]

BY THE KING.

RIGHT trusty and welbeloued We grete you wele,

and woll and charge you that under oure Priue Seale being in your warde ye make our Lettres in forme following. Forsomuche as We doubt not but afore this tyme ye have herd and understande of the gret clamor grugge and complainte which our liege people of this our Roy^me^ have made of and upon the coigne of silver made in our lande of Irland for discoording both in weight, allay, and in forme the coigne of sylver of this our Roy^me^. And the which for lak of expresse difference that shuld have be graved upon the same hath be ignorantly received here within this our Roy^me^ in stede of suche substanciall coigne as is by good auctorite coigned within the same to the universall losse and hurt of all thoo to whose hands it hath comin in wey of payment. Which inconvenience by subtill and crafty meanes of coveties persones aswele bringeng out of this our Roy^me^ sylver bullion in gret quantete to our Mynte of Irland as ther forging and streking the same unto the sam deceavable prynte daily encreseth more and more and is like to bring this our Roy^me^ by processe of tyme to extreme poverte and desolacion, enlesse that then other due provision be had therupon in all hast. We therfore woll and charge you and everie of you as to him it shall or may apperteigne in the straytest wise that incontynent upon the rescept of thise our lettres ye see and provide that on either side of every pece of sylver to be coigned herafter

within our said land of Irland ther be prynted and set in the mydill therof à clere and expresse difference fro that sylver that is coigned here within this our Royalme, that is to say on the one side the Armes of England and on the other side iij. Crownes; damnyng and utterly distroying all the stamps and Irons as touching the graving that is in them wherwith the sylver Coignes of that our lande hath hiderto be made and stryken at any place or tyme, Revoking also and utterly setting aside all maner power of Coyning in any place within the same our land, except our Cite of Dyvelyn and our Cite of Waterforde upon payne of forfaitur of all that shall happen to be coigned elleswhere within our said land or otherwise then is afore expressed unto the tyme We have otherwise ordeigned in this behalue. And that ye certifie us and our Counsaill by writing from you in all spede possible how ye shall have put you in devor touching the premisses. Not failling herin as ye love and tendre the honnor wele and profite of us and of all our subgetts. Youen the xviijth day of Juyll the first yere of our Reigne.

LETTER XLIII.

The King to Sir John Hussey, Knt., Chief Justice of the King's Bench, granting to him the ward and marriage of the daughter of Sir John Salvayn, Knt.

[HARL. MS. 433. fol. 113.]

*** This Letter illustrates a branch of the royal prerogative now no longer known; but which was formerly as oppressive to the subject as it was profitable to the Crown. It will be found alluded to in various Letters of the present volumes, and it may be as well to throw a few sentences together, once for all, upon the history of Wardship.

Whenever a tenant of the Crown *in capite* died, whether an earl, a baron, or a lower vassal, leaving his heir under age, and consequently incapable of performing the personal services due by his tenure, the King took possession of his estate, that he might therewith support the heir, and give him an education suitable to his quality, and at the same time provide a substitute to perform the services required from his land. Thus far the guardianship would appear to have been intended for good. But the King had the power to sell it; or by the grant of it he could enrich a favourite. The King's female wards could not marry any person, however agreeable to themselves and their relations, without the consent of their royal guardian; ostensibly, that they might not have it in their power to bestow an estate that had been derived from the crown, on one who was disagreeable to the Sovereign. This was a cruel and ignominious servitude, by which heiresses of the greatest families and most opulent fortunes were exposed to sale, or obliged to purchase the liberty of disposing of themselves in marriage by great sums of money, either from the King, or from some greedy courtier to whom he had granted or sold their marriage.

The value of the wardship depended on the extent of the possessions, and the probable duration of the minority; and, when sold, frequently obtained immense sums. Simon de Montfort, in the 31st of Henry the Third, paid ten thousand marks to the King to have the custody of the lands of Gilbert de Unfranville until his full age, with the heir's marriage, and with advowsons of churches, knights'

fees, and other appurtenances and escheats. Lord Lyttelton considered this sum equivalent to a payment of above a hundred thousand pounds into the exchequer in his time.

The guardian, says Hargrave (Co. Litt. 88. n. 11), was not accountable for the profits made of the infant's land during the wardship, but received them for his own private emolument, subject only to the bare maintenance of the infant. And this guardianship, being deemed more an interest for the profit of a guardian than a trust for the benefit of the ward, was saleable and transferable, like the ordinary subjects of property, to the best bidder; and, if not disposed of, was transmissible to the lord's personal representatives. Thus the custody of the infant's person, as well as the care of his estate, might devolve on the most perfect stranger to the infant; one prompted by every pecuniary motive to abuse the delicate and important trust of education, without any ties of blood, or regard, to counteract the temptations of interest, or any sufficient authority to restrain him from yielding to their influence.

By Statute 32 Hen. VIII. c. 46, a Court of Wards and Liveries was established to superintend the inquests under which wardships were obtained.

That the abuses of wardship were neither removed nor ameliorated in the time of Queen Elizabeth will be seen from the introduction to Sir Humphrey Gilbert's plan for "The Erection of an Academy in London for education of Her Majestie's Wardes, and others the Youth of Nobility and Gentlemen." It is as follows:

"Forasmuch as (most excellent Soveraigne) the moste parte of Noblemen and Gentlemen that happen to be your Majestie's Wardes, the custody of their bodies being of bounty graunted to some in reward of service or otherwise, not without your honorable confidence of their good education, yet nevertheless most commonly by such to whom they are committed, or by those to whom such Committees have sold them, being either of evil religion or insufficient qualities, are through the defaults of their guardians for the most part brought up, to no small grief of their friends, in idleness and lascivious pastimes; estranged from all serviceable vertues to their Prince and Country; obscurely drowned in education for sparing charges, of purpose to abuse their minds, least, being better qualified, they should disdain to stoop to the marriage of their purchasers' daughters: as also for that the greatest number of Young Gentlemen within this Realme are most conversant about London, whefe

your Majestie's Courte hath most ordinarie residence, yt were good (as I think) under your Highness's most gracious correction, that for their better educations there should be an Academy erected, in sort as followeth." It was to be called "Queen Elizabeth's Academy," and the Master of the Court of Wards, from time to time, was to be its chiefest Governor.[a]

What reception this scheme met with, we are not told; but the granting of wardships went on, till finally abolished in the first parliament of Charles the Second (12 Cha. II. c. 24): the preamble to the Act which then passed states that it had been intermitted since February 24, 1645; meaning that at that date a similar act had been passed by the Lords and Commons only.

Sir William Hussey, to whom the present Letter is addressed, subsequently married William Hussey, his second son, to his ward.[b]

RICHARD by the Grace of God, &c.. To all our subgetts greting. Knowe ye that We for the summe of M^l^. marcs of lawfull money of England have solde the keping and mariage of Anne Salveyn doughter and heir of Sir John Salvayn Knight to our trusty and welbeloved William Husse Knight our chief Justice of our Benche to have the said keping and mariage of the said Anne to she come to the age of xvj. yeres: of which summe of M^l^. marcs the said William hath paied to us the Day of making of thise presents viij^c^. and l. marcs so that the said William aweth to us of the said summe of M^l^. marcs but only C^li^. Of which summe of viij^c^. and l. marcs we confesse us the said King to be paied and the said William therof agayns us to be discharged by thise presents. And over this we promitte and graunt the

[a] MS. Lansd. Brit. Mus. V. *art.* 30. [b] Harl. MS. 1437, fol. 5.

said William by thise presents that We shall warraunt and discharge the said William his executors and assignes agayns all men that herafter shall pretende any title accion or demaunde for the said Custodie and Mariage agains the said William, his executors or assignes in any maner forme. And also we graunt to the said William that if the said Anne dye or she come to age of xvj. yeres and be not maried by the said William his Executors nor Assignes nor by noon of them sold, that then we shall repay and content the said William the somme of vj^{c}. marcs of lawfull money of England. In witnesse wherof to these presents We have put to our signet and subscribed them with our hand. Yeven and written at our Citee of York the viijth. day of Septembre the first yere of our Reigne.

LETTER XLIV.

Jdmes the Third of Scotland to King Richard the Third, desiring a safe-conduct for certain Lords of his realm to come in embassy to conclude a Peace.

[HARL. MS. 433. fol. 248 b.]

THE KING OF SCOTTS' LETTRE SENT UNTO THE KING.

RIGHT excellent hie and mighti Prince and right trusty and welbeloved Cousin We commennde us right hartlie unto you, and we have ressavit yo^{r} honorable lettres written at your Citye of York the xvij. day of Septembre present vnto vs by our Pur-

sewant Dingwell and understande the contynue of the same. And we, remayning and abiding in the good purpos and intension till observe peax amite and concorde with all Cristen nacions and in spēal with your Serenite to the emples^{r} of God and the enschewin of the gret dampnage folowin on the Werr to the accomplesiament of the good of Peax aboue expremit whilk shuld be envait be all Cristen princes, desiris that your saufconduit for certain Lords spirituale and temporale of our Realme tocum in our Ambassait and Legacionne within your Realme to cōmone avis and conclude the appointements of luf amite concorde and peax betwixt your Realme and oures and the leigis and subditis of the same: Marveland in a part that it liked not your Cousinage to sende your saufconduit with our said Pursewant. How be it he haid in Writ the names of the Lords and personnes whilk we desired to be put in your saufconduit to thentent abouewritten. And that it wald emples^{r}. your Cousinage that certaine spīalte and abstinence of Werr war taken betuix your Realme and oures by land and see to the xv. day of the moneth of Marche next tocum; that in the mesne tyme amite concorde and peax may be avisit appointit and concluded betwixt your Commissioners and oures in your presence to the emplesur of God and the good public of bath the Realmes. And we have gevyn to our Pursevaunt Dyngwell the names of the Lords and

persons with uthers whilk we desire your saufconduit to be gevin to, to thexpedicion of the good of peax aboue expremit.

Right excellent hie and mighti Prince the blessed Trinite have you in keping. Written under our Signet at Edenburgh the sixt day of Nouembre.

JAMYS R.

LETTER XLV.

King Richard the Third's answer to the King of Scots concerning the Safe-Conduct which he granted; but staying the Abstinence from War desired in the same Letter, till the arrival of the Scots Embassy.

[IBID.]

RIGHT high and mighti Prince right honourable and welbeloved Cousin we recomaunde vs vnto you and wher it hath pleased your Cousinage to addresse unto us your honorable lettres written at Edinburgh the xvj. day of Nouembr conteynyng the good propose that ye bere to the weele of peas betwene thies both Royaulmes and that for the more spedy achieving of the same entent ye have desired a safe conduyt by vs to be made and graunted to certain noble and discrete persones spirituell and temporell of your Royaume to be sent hider in ambassiade, whos names have be deliuered vnto vs and our Counsaill by your servaunt and perseuant Dyngwell. And ouer this that we wold assent vnto a certain abstinence and

specialtie to be had betwene the lieges of bothe Roy^{mes} both by lande and see for a certain tyme in your said lettres expressed. Right high and mighti Prince, right honorable and welbeloued Cousyn ensuyng the same mynde and purpose that ye be of, as touching the good of peas betwene both Roy^{mes} we have passed vndre our Grete Seale our said saufconduyt and the same deliuered vnto your said servaunt. And as for the abstinence and specialite aboue remembred, because ther was noo persone here present by you auctorized to take it with us or any of our Commissioners, and that the Wardeyns or their Lieutenaunts in the bordures haue not such power ne haue be accustumed to take any abstynence so large as ouere al by land and by see, and if they it so toke it were hard to bring it to the notise of al them to whome it shuld apperteyne within suche tyme as, after that, any frute shuld growe of the said abstynence. Therfor we have respited thexpedicion of that Article vnto the cõmyng of your ambassiade, doing zour Cousinage ferthre to wite that vpon the spedy cõmyng of your saide ambassiade, soo that they be wel furnysshed of auctorite and towardnesse to the said good of peas, it shall not stande by vs but that suche treux and abstynence shal be takyn and concluded as may best serue to the honor of God and the weele of both Royalmes. Right high and mighty Prince, right honourable and welbeloved Cousin, the

blessed Trinite haue you in his keping. Yeuen vndr our Signet at our Citie of London the secound day of Decembr. RICARDUS REX.

LETTER XLVI.

Richard the Third to the Authorities of the Town of Gloucester, with permission to wear his Livery.

[HARL. MS. 433. fol. 127 b.]

*** The wearing of Liveries had been forbidden under the heaviest penalties by the statutes of the 1st and 2nd of Henry the Fourth[a]; but the contest of the Roses renewed them.

The Livery or Badge of Cognizance of Richard the Third was a WHITE BOAR. Noble, in his History of the College of Arms, says that at Richard's coronation eight thousand cognizances of this kind were wrought upon fustian, he supposes in silver thread, which cost £20 per thousand.

Collars of Richard's livery, of a higher order, consisted of roses in the sunbeams, with a Boar pendent. Such an one is still seen suspended from the shoulders to the breast of a monumental figure of one of the Nevils at Brancepeth, in the County of Durham: probably the only one now to be found.

Richard, in allusion to his badge, gave the name of *Blanc Sanglier* to the pursuivant who carried his messages. Hall says this Pursuivant assisted in performing a part of the last offices to his master after the battle of Bosworth; he bore the body from the field, without covering, thrown behind him across a horse.

RICHARD, &c. To the Mair Shireffes and Aldermen of our Toune of Gloucestre that nowe be, or that herafter for the tyme shalbe, greting. Forasmoche as we wele understande that by meane of Re-

[a] Stat. of the Realm, vol. ii. pp. 129, 130.

teyndors, and receiving and wering of lyveres of clothing, baieux,[b] and of signes contrarie to theffect of the statutes by our noble progenitors heretofore ordeyned and stablished in that behalve, gret and many divisions and inconvenientes have risen and growen in diverse places within this our royme, to the gret troubles and noyaunce of our subgiettes of the same; and speciali now of late amongst you within our said Towne, by evyll disposed Gentilmen, Jamys Gyse, John Burdet, Edward Brigge, and other in making assault upon our Officers; a Constable of our said Towne not only betyn and grevosux maymed but also therby in dispare of his lyff, as it is to us showed to our full gret displeasur. Wherfore we woll and charge you that if ye have committed theim or any of theim to prisoun ye do suerly kepe theim their without baille or maynprise, to suche tyme as ye shall understande of our ferther pleasure in that behalve; and if noe, to endevoir you therunto; and over this that ye in no wise from hensfurth suffre any person dwelling amonges you in our said Towne or Fraunchises, for to use or were lyverey of clothing, bagien,[b] signe, or other conisaunce of the yefte of any maner persone, of what estate degre or condicion soever he be, but onely oures; and that upon the payne of forfiture of your liberties and fraunchises. And if ye shall knowe any presumyng or

[b] badges.

attempting soe to doe, that ye furthwith without delaye comytte himm likewise to sure prison, and soo to remayne as above. Faill ye not to accomplisshe this at your uttermest perill. Yeven, &c. at London the vjth day of Decembre A° primo.

LETTER XLVII.

King Henry the Seventh to the Prior and Convent of Christ-Church, Canterbury, nominating Warham Bishop of London to the Metropolitan See.

[MISC. CORRESP. IN THE ST. PAPER OFFICE, 3 *Ser.* VII. 2.]

*** This Letter, at the first glance, may seem purely official, but the perusal will leave no doubt that it was dictated by Henry the Seventh himself; it marks so strongly the sense which the King entertained of Bishop Warham's services.

William Warham was of gentle descent; born at Okeley in Hampshire, about the year 1456; bred at Winchester school, and afterwards at New College Oxford, where he was admitted a fellow in 1475. In 1488 he quitted college, and soon after practised in the Arches. Here his merit as a civilian attracted the notice of Henry the Seventh, who in 1493 sent him with Sir Edward Poynings on an embassy, of some delicacy, to the Duke of Burgundy; it was in the hope of withdrawing the protection of that Prince from Perkin Warbeck. Soon after his return, Feb. 13th, 1494, he was made Master of the Rolls. On August the 11th, 1502, he became Keeper of the Great Seal; Bishop of London on Oct. 1st; and Lord Chancellor the 1st of January following. In the latter part of 1504 he was translated, as the present letter shews, to the See of Canterbury. To this highest honour, in 1506, the Chancellorship of the University of Oxford was superadded.

In 1515, Warham resigned the seals; and Wolsey, who had been made legate *a latere* by the Pope, succeeded him as Lord Chancellor.

Both before and after this time, there were many contests as to

jurisdiction, between the Archbishop and the Cardinal, best seen in letters which will hereafter be placed before the reader. Wolsey's conduct was constantly encroaching; Warham's resistance always dignified. Whilst others signed their letters in gross flattery to Wolsey, Warham had but one finishing sentence for his; he uniformly wrote, "At your Grace's commandment."

Warham lived to see Wolsey's fall, and, even after that event, to have the Seals again offered to him. But advanced years induced him to decline the charge. He died at Canterbury, August 23rd, 1532, leaving the primacy open to the new faith and the new politics of Cranmer. Warham, from the very beginning, was always averse to the marriage of Henry the Eighth with his brother's widow.

TO OUR TRUSTY AND WELBELOUED IN GOD, THE PRIOR AND CONVENT OF CHRISTSCHURCH IN CAUNTERBURY.

TRUSTY and welbeloued in God, we grete you well, and where uppon the decese of your spirituall pastor and gouerner the late Archebusshop of Cauntebury, ye made vmbill instance vnto vs to have our licence reall to procede to your elecc̃on of a nother person to succede into the seid prelacie and dignitie; Wheruppon We, consideryng well the same to be the See of moost honor, auctorite, and preeminence, by reason of the primacy therof, within this our reálme, and being full mynded therfore, and for other causes us movyng, to provyde suche a substanciall and discrete man, enduyd with vertue and cunnyng and wordely[a] wisdome as shalbe mete therunto, and habill not onely to execute the charge and cure therof both spiritually and temporally to Godds pleasure,

[a] worldly.

and to the wele and honor of theseid Churche, but also, besides that, to do unto us and our realme goode .and acceptable service, have oft revolvide this mater in our mynde, and rype remembraunce; and by good leysure and deliberacion, beholdyng inwardly, amongs all other, the profound cunnyng, vertuous conversac̃on, and th'approuyd greate wisdom whiche the right reuerend ffather in God our right trusty Counceller, the bysshop of London, experimentally is knowen to be of, have therfore and for other his manyfold vertuusues and merits, named hym as a person mete in our opynyon unto the foreseid dignite: Wyllyng you therfore to procede in your elec̃on of theseid reverend ffather accordyng to this our nominacion. Wherunto we licence you by this presents; not dowtyng but that ye shall haue in hym suche a spirytuall pastor and gouerner, as by his demeanure God shalbe singulerly pleased; We and our realme well seruyd; and your seid Churche honouryd and avaunced. Yeven vnder our Signet at our Castell of Notyngham the xv. day of August. BY THE KYNG.

LETTER XLVIII.

The Earl of Suffolk to Thomas Killingworth.

[STAT. PAP. OFF. MISC. CORRESP. 3 *Ser.* vol. vi. 25. *Orig.*]

*** A few Letters are now to be laid before the reader from Edmund and Richard de la Pole in their exile. Of Richard de la Pole

more must be said hereafter at a later date. Of Edmund, and of his family generally, it will be proper to say something here.

His father, John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, married Elizabeth the eldest daughter of Richard Duke of York, by whom he had the following children:

John, the eldest, created Earl of Lincoln by King Edward the Fourth, was by Richard the Third, after the death of his son Prince Edward, proclaimed heir-apparent to the Throne of England. Hence the fears entertained by Henry the Seventh and Henry the Eighth, increased in the latter reign by Richard de la Pole assuming the appellation of "the White Rose." The Earl of Lincoln, who supported the imposture of Lambert Simnel, was killed at the battle of Stoke in 1487. He married Margaret daughter of Thomas Fitz-Alan Earl of Arundel, by whom he had one son, who died without issue.

EDMUND, whose Letters are before the reader, was the second son. He married Margaret daughter of Richard Lord Scrope of Bolton, and had one daughter, who became a nun among the Minoresses by Aldgate. Of him we shall have to speak further presently.

Humphrey de la Pole, the third son, was a churchman, as was

Edward, the fourth son. Edward was admitted Archdeacon of Richmond, Jan. 6th, 1484, and died in 1485.

RICHARD DE LA POLE was the fifth son.

William, the sixth, married Catherine daughter of William Lord Stourton; but he had no issue. He was for a while imprisoned in the cause of his brother Edmund; but was afterwards released.

Of the daughters, Dorothea's history is unknown. Elizabeth, the second, married Henry Lovell Lord Morley, but left no offspring. Anne, the third, became the wife of the Duke of Rothsay, eldest son of the King of Scotland.

EDMUND *Earl of Suffolk* for a considerable time was a supporter of, if not favoured by, Henry the Seventh. In the 4th of that King 1485, he accompanied the Earls of Derby, Shrewsbury, Arundel, Devon, and others, into Flanders, to aid the Emperor Maximilian. In 1492 he accompanied Henry himself to France, when he laid siege to Boulogne. And in the 12th of Henry VII., A.D. 1496, he appeared in arms with Henry Earl of Essex, the Lord Montjoy, and others, against the Cornish rebels, who were finally vanquished at Blackheath. From this time to 1501 nothing is recorded of him.

The subsequent and less fortunate part of his history is thus related by Hall.

"A few months before the marriage of Prince Arthur, Edmond Poole, Earl of Suffolk, * * * * * being stout and bold of courage, and of wit rash and heady, was endited of homicide and murder, for slaying of a mean person in his rage and fury. And although the King pardoned him whom he might justly have condemned for that offence, yet because he was brought to the King's bench barr and arraigned, (which fact he reputed to be a great maim and blemish to his honour,) took it seriously, and shortly after, for this displeasure, fled to Flanders, without any lycence or safe-conduct given him of the King, to the Lady Margaret, his aunt on the mother's side. Nevertheless, whether he was stirred by his privy friends, thereunto moved by the King, or whether he, trusting on his unviolated truth, feared no danger nor penalty, he returned again, and excused himself so to the King that he was thought to be gilt-less and inculpable in any crime that could be objected to him; and therefore he was permitted to go frankly at his liberty and pleasure.

"But when this marriage of Prince Arthur was kept at London with great pompe and solemnity, and that all the nobility were set on pleasure and solace, and the King himself was principally given to joy and rejoicing, this Edmond, either for that he had been at great and excessive charges at the same triumph and solemnity, and by reason thereof sore charged with debt; either solicited, allured, and provoked by that old venomous serpent the Duchess of Burgoyne, ever being the sower of sedition and beginner of rebellion against the King of England; or else stimulate and pricked with envy, which could not patiently with open eyes see and behold King Henry, being of the adverse line to his lineage, so long to reign in wealth and felicity; in conclusion, with his brother Richard, fled again into Flanders.

* * * * *

"When the King understood certainly that this Earl was departed and returned again, he was not a little vexed and unquieted, mistrusting that some new tumultuous business should be begun again; and chiefly therefore blamed himself of foolish folly that he had given him his pardon for his offence, lately committed. Although it was manifest enough that he did it for this purpose, that he might dissemble and wink at the matter so long until such time he had

some sure token and perfect knowledge of his conjuration, the which he perceived now to be surely attempted and begun. As soon as Edmond de la Poole was fled again into Flanders, Sir Robert Curson, whom the King had promoted to the order of knighthood, and made captain of Hammes Castle, a valiant and a circumspect man, dissimuling himself to be one of that conspiracy, went into Flanders, doubtless to espye what was done there by the Lady Margaret against King Henry. This opinion was settled in every man's head at the first broaching of the matter, and so yet continueth; grounding upon this principle, that he, neither vexed nor molested with any point of displeasure or injury by his Prince or any other, fled to the King's enemies: and after all things were known, opened, pacified, and suppressed, he willingly returned, and was received into high favour with the King, his master and sovereign lord. Howbeit, the King, lyke a wily fox, knowing the faithful intent of this Sir Robert, and intending to put him out of all jealousy and suspicion with the Lady Margaret and Edmond de la Poole, caused the said Earl, and the said Sir Robert Curson, and five persons more, to be accursed at Paule's Crosse the first Sunday of November, as enemies and rebels to him and his realm. But, howsoever it chanced, whether it were for the easing of his heart, or for some privy policy, the King, after the marriage of his son, Prince Arthur, was so vigilant, so circumspect, and so intentive, that he espied and tried out such as he knew, partly to be the inventors of mischief against him, and partly to bear no good will or sincere affection toward his person, that he could readily name and rehearse their names and surnames, whereof a great part were within few days after apprehended and taken. And among them, Lord William Courtney, son to Edward Earl of Devonshire, (a man of great nobility, estimation, and vertue, which married Lady Katherine, daughter to King Edward,) Lorde William, brother to Edmond Earl of Suffolk, Sir James Tyrrell, Sir John Wyndham. Both these Williams before rehersed were rather taken of suspicion and jealousy, because they were near of blood to the conjurators, than for any proved offence or crime. Wherefore the Lord William, son to the Earl of Devonshire, after the death of King Henry the VIIth. was delivered and set abroad at liberty. * * * * * The Lord William, brother to Edmond the Earl of Suffolk, had also greater favor shewed in prison than he had before. And Sir James Tyrrell and Sir John Wyndham, because they were traitors, and so at-

tainted, the 6th day of May they were on the Tower-hill beheaded.

"But when the Earl of Suffolk heard that some of his friends were put to execution,[a] and some other committed to perpetuall prison and captivity, he was in a great agony and fear of himself. And so, being clearly desperate to have any fortunate success in his pretensed enterprise, wandered about all Germany and France for aid and succour, proving if he could find any aid or succour at their hands. But when he perceived no stedfast ground to catch anchorhold upon, (to th' intent that in conclusion he might understand that a shameful death due to a man for his offences and crimes cannot by man's help or man's reason be either eschewed or diverted from him,) he submitted himself under the obeisance and defence of Philip Archduke of Austricke and Burgoyn and Earl of Flanders."

It was in 1506 that Elizabeth Queen of Castile died without issue male, by reason whereof the inheritance of Castile descended to the Lady Jane, her eldest daughter, who was married to the Archduke of Austria already mentioned. Whereupon Philip, now bearing the title of King of Castile, sailed with his wife from Flanders to take possession of their new kingdom: but the vessels which accompanied them were dispersed by a storm, and that which carried them, driven upon the English coast into the port of Weymouth. They were at their first landing received and entertained by Sir John Carew and Sir Thomas Trenchard, who resided in the neighbourhood; and were afterwards taken, upon invitation from the King, to Windsor. Here the negotiation was entered upon which ended in the Earl's surrender.

Holinshed tells us on this occasion, from Guicciardini, "that Philip in all other things held himself used as a King, yet in this one thing complained that he was constrained as a prisoner to consent to redeliver to King Henry's hands the Duke of Suffolk, whom he held prisoner within the castle of Namur. Onlie the King assured Philip, by the faith and word of a king, that he would not put him to death."

Stowe, in his Annals, describes the manner in which he was

[a] Stowe says, on the 2nd of May [1502] were arraigned in the Guildhall at London, Sir James Tyrrell, knight, lieutenant of Guines Castle, Sir John Windham, knight, Welborne, servant to the said Sir James, and a ship-man, foure persons, were indicted of treason for aiding Sir Edmond de la Pole Earl of Suffolk. They were condemned to be drawn, hanged, and quartered.

brought to England: "Edmond de la Pole Earl of Suffolk being sent (according to promise to King Henry) out of the country of Philip King of Castile, through Flanders, was brought to Calais on the 16th of March, and so over into England, and landed at Dover on the 24th of March, conveyed by Sir Henry Wiat, knight, and Sir John Wilshire, knight, controller of the town and marches of Calais, and sixty soldiers of Calais all in harness, where he was received by Sir Thomas Lovell and other, and conveyed to the Tower of London."

The Cottonian MS. Galba, B. II. fol. 26, contains certain Instructions of Henry the Seventh to one Wilshire, (no doubt the Sir John Wilshire here mentioned,) as early as 1502, to be shewn to Messire Charles, an agent in Flanders, to obtain intelligence concerning the King's rebels. The initials "H. R." appear both at the beginning and the end, but the body of the Instructions was mutilated in the Cottonian fire, and a perfect copy cannot be made of it. Two of the articles relate to Edmund de la Pole and his servants.

"Item trouvera moien au mieulx . . . . . ovra de praticquer aucuns des serviteurs de Edmond de la Polle pour luy faire savoir tousjours des nouvelles, en luy promettant de la part du Roy son pardon: par ainsi que il declairera ceulx quil congnoit et entend estre de l'affinite du d' Edmond et ce a sa venue et avaunçe devers le Roy nostre dit seigneur.

"Item s'il y a aucuns des gens et serviteurs du dit Edmond de la Polle qui desirent a avoir leur pardon et absolucion; le Roy est content de leur pardonner leurs vies moiennant quilz feront declaira de tout ce quilz scayvent et congnoisent."

The Earl of Suffolk continued in the Tower till the 4th of Henry the Eighth, when, previous to the King's setting out for France, April 30th, 1513, he was brought out and beheaded. Lingard says, it is certain that the ambassadors at foreign courts received instructions to justify his execution, by alleging the discovery of a traitorous correspondence between the two brothers. But the Letters in the State Paper Office do not corroborate this. The story of the day seems more probable. Fears were entertained, that, should anything untoward occur to Henry in his expedition, the friends of the House of York, who were still numerous, might take the Earl from his prison and seat him on the Throne. Henry the Eighth seems to have thought that the obligation his father had entered into to preserve the life of the Earl of Suffolk, was not

binding upon himself; or it might be that Richard de la Pole's joining the French army at that time roused that same dark spirit of revenge which afterwards prompted the execution of the Countess of Salisbury.

From these Letters it will readily be perceived that the Earl of Suffolk was not only an uneducated man, but, however variable the orthography of his age might be, he had no notion whatever how the most ordinary words of his native language should be spelled. He wrote "vane" for when, "vat" for what, "vare" for were, "vele" for well, "varne" for warn, "vold" for would, like a man who had lived long enough abroad to be uncertain even in the recollection of his mother-tongue.

He was restless and unhappy in himself, and distrustful, even of his brother. Richard de la Pole, in one Letter, writes, "Sir, you deal very haydly with me, I being your brother, in many things." Nor was he adroit. "But Richard his brother," says Hall, "being an expert and politic man, so craftily conveyed and so wisely ordered himself in this stormy tempest, that he was not entrapped either with net or snare."

Richard de la Pole, even during his brother's life, and when writing to his brother, also assumed the title of "Suffolk."

TOMAS KELLENGVERT I send Petter[b] to yov and to Mast' Pole that he mae chove[c] to Pole my mend for I kane vryt ne darehi.[d] And also thest·ys my mend that yov sale delewer Petter ale thevs mony as I thowke[e] you at Arname[f] for to bee me myger[g] for he most go of my meches, and come you to a tene by Vaggene wches ys kalled reene wchs longges to the bouchoppe of Hovttereck[h] and vane yov come ther send me werd to my loggeng be gagee.

EDMUND SUFFOLK.

[b] Peter. [c] shew. [d] dare I. [e] took. [f] Arnheim.
[g] to buy me my geer. [h] bishop of Utrecht.

LETTER XLIX.

The Earl of Suffolk to the same.

[MISC. CORRESP. 3 *Ser.* vi. 26. *Orig.*]

*** Thomas Killingworth, to whom the previous Letter, as well as this, is addressed, was the Earl of Suffolk's house-steward; in a Memorial to the Emperor he calls himself "Magister curiæ et servitor Edmundi Ducis Suffolchiæ," and says he had quitted his family and country to serve his master. The Cottonian Manuscript, Vespasian F. III. fol. 102, preserves the original passport or safe-conduct which was granted to him by Erhard Bishop of Liege, dated at the Chateau of Huy, Nov. 5th, 1506. He was to be accompanied "de quatre servitures au dessoubz portans dagues, espees, javellines, ou aultre bastons non deffenduz, pour la suretie de leurs personnes et deffense de leurs corps."

TOMAS KELLENGVERT, Holland came hedder and spak with Hans and sade that Master Pole vold nat geuf[a] hem met and drenke nor none hedder[b] thong as yov told me, ver for I have gret marvele and spesale le[c] that yov vold nat tourn Holland a gaine to do yovr meches[d] to Mastr Poole. And Hans sayde to me that hee vare vare leeke to do and vent nat a pane hes feete. I prae yov vryt to me vedder there be trovthe or nat that Hans mae se yovr hand yn . . . . . .

I prae yov handele vosle[e] my noovld a quantans of Ingland that yt come nat to leete. I have sent for John Grofovnd. If Master Welleame mae nat come he sale handele the tedder matter; bovt ef he

[a] give. [b] other. [c] especially. [d] message. [e] well.

come to yov be yov of choke of no theng to hem, bovt send hem hedder with ale haste.

Also vryt yov a Letter to Edvard and tele hem lete hem never thengke that I vele leeve hem ther . . . yn . . . plas of Master Pole . . . nat I have a plaes for hem that no mane a levef . . . es bovt he and I that sale . . . . . I prae yov fale nat of yovr to send me verd . . . . . .

LETTER L.

The Earl of Suffolk to his "Steward."

[STAT. PAP. OFF. MISC. CORRESP. 3 *Ser.* vi. 30. *Orig.*]

I HONDERSTOND be Hestu that Derreke ys come hovt of Hongrei, and my broder nor he sendes me novors[a] vat the have done, bovt I honder stond be Estvstas[b] that the que[c] has sent hem a letter and me none, and also the que[c] has sent to the K. of Castele for hem and nat fore me; ver for I vele you meddele nat w[t] ther Kaves[d] w[t] ovt I send yov vord, And say to Derreke for yovr a sones Derreke choves[e] my lord that yov be come; or thake my Lorde vat messeg yov hav brovt to my lord Rechard; I strest my lord Rechard vold hold me a chovesed.[f] I have done to or iij temes my lord Rechard comand ment her at, the I have done the best for my lord to my

[a] never. [b] Eustace.
[c] Queen Anne, Queen of Ladislaus the Sixth of Hungary, here spoken of, died in child-bed in 1506. [d] cause. [e] shew. [f] excused.

povr, thovle[g] yt hafe nat come to a feeket[h] and I se my lord Rechard ys natt content, ver for I vold dele no fvrther w[t] hem. I mae choke my lord . . . And also that my Lord Rechard send heider thovs as vele repente me as I doe.

And gevf as fer[i] vordes to Derreke as yov kane, to sa ef yow kane gette hem hedder.

Gevf a verd to the Baster[j] and sae parreventer my lord vele deser[k] yov to go ynto Hongrei. I sale tele yov mor vane I have spokkekan with my lord. My broder has povt i vae[l] from hem Hevstas[b] and Allen and my thenke he vele a vae as fare as I kane se. I prae yov send me the mone[m] ef yov be pose-bovle for my ger[n] lies yn the toune for the maken.[o] And also geuf Allen to flovrens[p] and let hem goe to Acere or to Gelderland tele the teme comes that ve be a greed w[t] Master Pole.

I prae yov sae of my lord Vele and sae of my Lord fenes and of the todder my mast' a parte for me for . . . I deser . . . edde ther of to have to pase the tem gevf theme chovs vorddes. I prae yov be vele vare ver yov of the matter yov and I spake of and to voud and remember vele the spaniers my a quentans.[q]

It. mons[r] delenne rosete boneut

It. my to banneteft hone forged and the todder

[g] though. [h] effect. [i] fair. [j] Bastard. [k] desire. [l] away.
[m] money. [n] gear. [o] making. [p] two florins. [q] Spaniards my acquaintance.

reed as I vore for to chertes,[r] bovt lette them be fene,[s] and for a cercher.[t]

I prae yov rember vele Mast' Pole for mone: vane[u] yov speke with hem ef he vele come to me, lette hem nat for yt.

I lake iij quarters of sattane for my dobblet.

And varne[v] Hans that he speeke vele and honnestele with the baster[J] and also with Claus Derrek. I have varned Hans of yt my cheelf Of the yn bassettervrs[w] that be yn Ingland. Ef yov send to me concele[x] send Jagee and cheep[y] yov Hans tele Jagee ys rethourn a gaine to yov, bovt send hem yn contenent to me. I send yov the letter my broder sent me be Heevstas her yn closed.

EDMUND SUFFOLK.

To the Steved.[z]

LETTER LI.

The Earl of Suffolk to some one whom he calls his Cousin; probably the Lord Chevers, or the Lord Vele.

[IBID. 3 *Ser.* vi. 27. *Orig.*]

COSEN I deser yov to chohove[a] to my lord my Cosen, that yt vold ples hem to remember I kame to to hem for the lovef and strouste[b] I hade to hem a bovef ale hedder[c] Prenses, ver for I povt my boddy yn ys hand, ver apone he gavef me ys chavf-

[r] shirts. [s] fine. [t] handkerchief. [u] when. [v] warn.
[w] ambassadors. [x] counsel. [y] keep. [z] To the Steward, *i. e.* Killingworth.
[a] shew. [b] trust. [c] other.

condet[d] to com ynto ys land, as vane I spake with heme he promes me as he vas a nobovle mane ys land chovld be free fore me, and noe[e] I have bein here one yeer and a haalvf and hame as ner nove[e] of my departeng hennes as I vas the frerst dae. And also yov came to me and desored me to povt my matter yn my lord my cosen hand, and he vold point me a dae ef he . . . a nend be 'teven K. H. and me, vel ef nat my lord my Cosen promissed me be ys letters be sent John dae[f] last passed he vold geevf me lessens[g] to de parte ys land ver yt plessed me; and thest have yov promes me for my lord my Cosen wches I have foufeled at the deser of my lord my cosen. Nove my day ys passed and a cordeng to my lord my cosen I defer of yov yovr lesens[g] as yov be come of nobovele boveld[h] and as yow be a trove jengtelman I deser yov to ch . . yovr s . . . fochet to let me depart ascordeng to my lord my Coson letters and to yovr promes that yov have mad me.

I strest my lord my Cosen vele nat leevef my her yn thest danger ef ys Heines come heyder; wches[i] I thoke vele ef I vare yn ther handes I vare bovt as a mane hone done[k] As ale for be kaves of my lord my Coson that I came yn to hem and for schol . . . ys . . . And also has done at my lorde my cosen

[d] safe-conduct. [e] now. [f] by St. John's day.
[g] licence. [h] blood. [i] which. [k] undone.

deser that I vold nat do at ther der I strest my lord my cosen vele remember my govd hart that I have had and vele have to heme as nat to leev me her as a man leftf Also ef yt ples hem to set me a dae of to ore iij monthes so I be yn some severte ver yt ples heme I hame conten or and ef yt ples my lord my Coson that I mae be with hem and be at my lebertte I vel be glad to bed hes pleser And to bed ys plas a yer or to, and to thake chevf fortovn as ples God to send to heme, my parte I hame vele content to thake for Affter thest manner as I ame a cerstene mane I vele nott bed to dee for yt, ver for Cossen as as yov be a trove Jengtilmane do fore me as I have geve yov kawes and that I be not lost thovrt the promes and chavef conddet[a] of my lord my Coson and your profer for my govd vell.

LETTER LII.

Richard de la Pole to his brother the Earl of Suffolk, in poverty and distress.

[IBID. vi. 19. *Orig.*]

*** Acken, whence this Letter is dated, is a small town of Lower Saxony, in the Duchy of Magdeburg, two miles from Dessau. The date must have been about 1505.

SIR,

I HUMBELY recomaunde me on to your Grace letyng your Grace to know that I have ressē your Letter be Sir Thomas the morow after new erys day

[a] safe-conduct.

be the wheche I have no comfort, and here I ly in gret peyne and pouerte for your Grace, and no maner of comffort I have of your Grace, nor off non other, nor non ys comyng as ffere as I can see. Wherfor I pray God sone to send me owte of thys worde.[k]

Sir as for the mater thatt I sent yow worde of, ye sent me worde ye cowde do nothyng therin for be cawse ye were in the Kyng of Castells handys, and the same answere I have made, and as sone as I haue any worde of hyt I shall in fforme your Grace ther of. Sir I have put a wey all my ffolkys, and the brynger here of can shew you in what danger I am in. Sir be my trowth ye dele ffery hardly with me, I beyng your brother, in many thyngs. I knowe not what the menyng ys as God knowyth, who preserve your Grace. At Akon the iiij day of Jeneū Be your louyng brother

RYCHARD SUFFOLK.

To my lorde my Brother
be thys delyuered.

LETTER LIII.

The Earl of Suffolk to one whom he addresses as Don Peter; one of his Agents.

[IBID. vi. 24. *Orig.*]

DON PETER, yt ys so I vas gon hovt of Vaggene, as ys thaken 'a gane as hare of rend kane chove[a] yov.

[k] world. [a] shew.

I prae yov go to the baster[b] and chov yt hem, and chove hem as I choved yov thovcheng the K. of Chastels. I vold be at the K. comandment ver so mever I be came. And also I ded vryt so to the stoverd[c] to cheve the K yn leeke voes.[d] As for thest kaves I came hovt the drovset[e] hade comande-ment from the dovke of gelders that I chovd chepe[f] my logen and goe to the chevrs,[g] and com to my logen a gane, wches comandment the drovset[e] vele nat tele me And I theke yt Also I hade varneng that the K and the dowke of gelders stravee yn ther vryteng. And of the pes wyches the K sade yt vas after hone vae, and the Dowke of gelders sade a noder vae, and hone grevffone a sarvant of the K vas come to the Dowke of Gelders to comand the Dowke to com to the K as he hade promest, and ale thest ded the drovsseet[e] tele me vane I came a gane to the ton wches a vold nat tele me before. Also the Dowk of gelders has thaken t men mor yn to the ton of Waggone mor thane ther vas, bovt the le be the ferre as yov go to Nemeygger vard. And also I hade hone come strest[h] the same dae frome the Douk and he sede planle that ale the Dowk of gelders sarvantes sad planle he vold nat com to the K. As long as the K of romes ys ther, w[t] gret verdes.[i] And thest mend[j] nat vele for me,

[b] Bastard. [c] steward. [d] in like ways.
[e] Drossaard, the sheriff or governor: the name in the Lowlands for a magistrate.
[f] keep. [g] the Lord Chevres. [h] straight. [i] words. [j] meant.

for and of the K and the Dowke gre I kare nat, bovt ef he gre nat, I ame as a mane lost. As I strest[k] the K vele conseder my good hart, and ys comandment that I ded to come hedder at ys deser, wches I beches[l] ys gras to my govd lord and I chale be ys[m] pore sarvant as chale never be a greabovle velyels[n] I leevef to do hone theng as the deser of the dowks to de fore yt. I have sent John Grefovn to the baster w[t] part of thest noves[o] bovt nat w[t] all. I prae yov make delegens tele yov be w[t] the baster. My mane that sent me the brovches that yov brovt me frome the rend sale de lever[p] yov letters frome vae yov com agane. Also I hade for gottovn to vryt yov the dowk of gelder comandted the drovschett that I chovld nat have bovt hone of my sarvants with me; And none chould come yn thest tone. I hav reseved yovr lettes[q] wches yov sale have a nane servane yov come a gane. EDMUND SUFFOLK.

LETTER LIV.

The Earl of Suffolk to John Growet, one of his agents, or servants.

[IBID. vi. 23. *Orig.*]

JOHN GROWET yt ys hapend that as thest dae I vas come hovt of the tone of Vagena as thest barrer[s] kane chove yov and ys thaken a gane a mele vee

[k] trust. [l] beseech. [m] his. [n] whilst. [o] news. [p] deliver. [q] letters. [s] this bearer.

tover teele And byovt agane to Vagene I prae yov send yn contenent to the baster and to Tomas Kellengvert And chove yt them hove yt ys happend. And so I veld the chovld chove to the K of Castele wer of as yt ys, and ver for I ded yt.

As on Mondaie ther vas a bede of of the dowks of gelders came to the drovschet and avised hem that I chovld be povt yn preson as yt vas chovd me be hone that that . . . . be a drovnker that toldste yt her and che[b] toldet me. And so I the nesteke dae[c] I asched the drovset vedder he hade hone neves of the dowks and he sead nae. And thane I thovt yt vas reet[d] tame to make stom chafre for my cheelf thest ys hone I aodder ys thest ys hone, sarvantes that . . . . dale w[t] w[t] me says planle the Dowke vele nat cume be the K of Chastelle veels the K of romes ys ys ther And that the doveke has so vrytvn to the K. of Chastele planle.

Also I se vele he forunes thest tone bovt w[t] men and w[t] povdder and as thest dae cappelè the hadm. . of the the had thaken ì men mor yn to thest tone ceyeng ale thest I chove vele the . . . chale nott hold And I be . . . yn ys hand I vele I vare bovt as hon don. And I hade ment to a come to Tele and the cheelf fovt men that vas com ys to Vagone vye thovk me. And vane the drovsseet spake w[t] me he sade to me

[b] she. [c] next day. [d] right.

that the Dowke of Gelder had comandet hem that I chovld nat goe hovt of my logen and to the chovrs so I se vele yn vat choks I stand yn a pone the K. of Chastle promes and ys conchele.[c]

Also I have sent the stover to the K. to chove the K. ef yt so happned that I vare hovt of the Dowks of Gelders hanud vor so mever I ver I vele be at ys com mand ment remember. thêst vele. And also I proe yov speke to Yovenker flovrems and sa I strest he vele remember me as my strovst ys yn hym. John treste it ys

EDMUND SUFFOLK.

LETTER LV.

The Earl of Suffolk to Thomas Killingworth: apparently after the death of his aunt, the Duchess of Burgundy.

[IBID. iv. 22. *Orig.*]

TOMAS KELENGVERT I have reseved yovr letter and also v flovrens, do your best to be cover of that mony of my lade my nantes[a] and also make as gret laber as yov kane to my lord de Fienneove wches ys my lades detter for the CCC. flovrens, and make yov yovre cheelf hone of the ynnevercete of Lowen[b] and w'yn cortespas[c] yov chale chove more of me

[c] council. [a] Margaret Duchess of Burgundy died at Malines in 1503.
[b] Make you yourself one of the University of Louvain. [c] short space.

mend.[d] Also I gavcf Welleame the hores I prae yov speke to hem and lette the hores be chould and thake baug to-fl . . . . . .
And let Velleam have the remand[e] of the monie And vane yov have reseved the mony of the sprert pae yov Welleame the mony A gaine. I prae yov speke to Yenkerflovyed for Bauges and Bouttesford that the mae be at Hattame or Helsver, and also deser heme to be my frends and chove yov hem yn vat kas I hame yn. And thest berre sale chove yov. I have wryten a letter to my lord Vele, I have vrytvn a Letter to my lord Fennes, wche I voled yov chould delever theme, and chove[f] them I strest[g] the vele remember me vches has povt my hovle strovst[g] yn them, and praketes[h] with them as vele as yov kan. And also speke with the yn basseter[i] with the clovbe fovtte, and deser ys consele her vat vele be done as vele as yov kane, and also defer that I mae chove hove the Keng ys with me, vedder he be my govd lord, and chowe my lord fiennes and ys broder I strest ys gras vele heelpe me I have no theng to prakttes[h] with them that I mae have some mone of them, and w[t] that I sale hvelpe theme of my sarwais wches I vele.[j]

I vryt yov thest yn frenche the coppe of my long f . . . letter and of ys . . . . cosen yñ my most

[d] mind. [e] remainder. [f] shew. [g] trust. [h] practice.
[i] ambassador. [j] which I will.

hartelest ves[k] I kane I . . . me to yov deserring yov to be so govd frend to me as be to ches the K's gras to be my govd lord. Sa ys pore sirvant wches ys her at yo[r] gras commandment. I deser of yo[r] nobovle gras that I mae chove be yov cosen vedder the K. ys my govd lord As I hav never dogn ys gras nonodder . wches I strest[l] ys nobovle gras vele remember, bechesgeng yov as also my lord yovr broder yn al honer to be jengtelman that povt ys hole strovst yn the Ks nobovl gras and yn yovr to handes[m] vane I spake w[t] yov at Aq . . . and that yt vele plese yov to geve credens to my stoverd thest brynger.

Vane yov goe theder go as crecretle as yov kane vane yov spek with. Also send for the baster and thak ys conchele as yov vare vont to do bovt be vare of heme. And sae I have sent yov to my lord Vele for to have some vat. I have nedder mone nor clovthest[n] and let theme povt hem yn the K's sarves for ther tele hem he mae deme goud frends crecretle[o] so h sale not chove[p] yt and after that maner ve sale be . . . . of hem boet make hem be leve yov povt ale yovr strovst[l] yn hem. Geuf credens to thest[q] berrer forre yt mat do as I have vrytvn yt yt ys nat so hole as me thienk yt. And that sale yov vele se ef the var hones[r] gone.

EDMUND SUFFOLK.

[k] heartiest ways. [l] trust. [m] two hands. [n] neither money nor clothes.
[o] secretly. [p] shew. [q] this. [r] they were once.

LETTER LVI.

The Earl of Suffolk . . . . . .

[IBID. vi. 21. *Orig.*]

GELGEN I recōmend me to yov I prae yov recōmend me to my cosen my lord Vele yovr Master prae yeng yov to desser my cosen to be my frend to the Kyng of Castels gras. I as ys poreve sarvant. And I paye[a] yov ef· yov mae come to me come for I vovld speeke with yov that yov vold do so moche for me as to col . . ve my cosen you master my mynd. Gelgen I paie yov to gevef order to thest berar.

Your hold aquantans

EDMUND SUFFOLK.

To Gilkyn.

LETTER LVII.

The Earl of Suffolk to the Bastard van Oyskerke; complaining of the usage he receives.

[IBID. vi. 20. *Orig.*]

*** The reader is aware that in the middle ages the term Bastard was not always considered a reproach. The illegitimate offspring of the great, trained to war, occasionally took it as a title, accompanied by a half patronymic indicating the nobility of the House, or the rank of the party of which or of whom they were the offspring, making the very term appear like an appellation of honour. Such were the bastard of Orleans, the bastard of Burgoyne, the bastard Emery, the bastard of Fauconbridge, and numerous others named by our historians. "Le bastard de Savoy" is inscribed over the head of one of the figures in a curious picture of the battle of Pavia preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

[a] pray.

In the present letter, where we should now say "My Lord" or "Sir," the writer begins "Bastard."

The Earl of Suffolk's uncommon irregularity of spelling renders the actual name of the person to whom his Letter is addressed, at first sight, obscure: a Latin Memorial, however, from Thomas Killingworth, already referred to, says this Bastard was a servant to the King of Castile: "Servitor domini Regis qui vocatur *le bastard van Oysekerke*." Who he was, does not appear in the Chronicles of Flanders; nor further than this is he known to the Editor of these volumes. From a passage in another Letter, the Earl of Suffolk seems to have distrusted him. Writing to Killingworth, he says, "Also send for the Bastard, and take his counsel as you were wont to do; but beware of him."

Tomas Kel, to whom this Letter is addressed jointly with the Bastard, was, no doubt, the same Thomas Killingworth.

BASTERD I have sent you alletter[a] her be thest beerer, wches letter I prae you chove yt to my Lord Fennes that he may chove yt the K, for vat yt ys I kannat sae bovt seuens the barges[b] of Acern vas with the the K. the be more harder boethe of ther dedes, and also of the hodder ves[c] hove yt comes or be vome I kannat sae, bovt my thenke ef the K's counsele hade bene my frens yt hade nat ben after thest mannor, wer for I kane se nonodder remede bovt my broder and I bovthe most looke vele a pone thest matter and veldo.[d]

I have gret marvele I her no vrder ffrome yov hove my matter govs, and that I cheke nat the K's plesser yn no thengs. I have bene yn the K's handes thest iiij monnests and more, and yov to ware the

[a] a letter. [b] burgesses. [c] other ways. [d] will do.

nectlegens that brovt me vers frome the K, that I chovld pevte no dovt yn hem, he vas my govd lord as vold do for me manne thengges, bovt I kane not parsevffre yt, bovt I be her to my pane and chame, as also spent vat I kane get of my frendes, as I have notheng bovt frer vogaler, ver be[e] I hame as a mane hondone be y'ours . . . . . .

And also my broder leeke to be de leveurd to K. H. or elses be dreevffen be forens to for chake me, or els to be clame yn the tone of Acern be the berges, and ale be the resone of my be yng her yn presone, ver I mae nat goe to my frendes to fend the remede, nedder for my broder nore for mychelf, ver for my thenke and ef the K vare a varted of me and my broder, heve ve stond and ale be the reson that I be her at commandment. I povt nodovt ys gras vele have some regard vat danger my broder ys yn, for my cheelef[f] I deser nat so gret hast, bowt after that maner as I sente the K. vord be roderekee de lae lane[g] and also be the baster and be the stowerd, ver of I prae yev to thake gevd regard. And chove my lord Fennes and my lord Vele as the be noboule mene, to remember ther promes vches the made me for the K. as the vare nobovle men. Vryten the xxvij dae of November. EDMUND SUFFOLK.

To the basterd Os kerc
and tomas kelle grac.

[e] whereby. [f] self. [g] Roderic de la Lane.

LETTER LVIII.

The Earl of Suffolk to . . . .; apparently in January 1506-7, *immediately before he came prisoner to England.*

[IBID. vi. 29. *Orig.*]

HER sale be made a gret brvt that I sale be cheepet strafts the vele make the ve the vele make barres and also the have varned the vj men that vattes a pone me that the sale cheepe govd vaakes ver be ther mae come a gret rumore, bovt yt goos vele my fader and I var as . . . . . as . . . . meet and scoopere at the marre of flourengs hoos ver I plaead at tenes, yn so meches vane ve hade vele dronkone. he chovd me ale. I prae yov remember vele that John Grefovne goe be fore with the groovt as I told yov. And also vane yov send hedder let the messenger come to the gaate, and sae that he vele speke with my fadder frome yov. I have herdone hevre theng as vele as yt ys posebovle; fale nat bovt send me my ger be to morro sennet at the fardest. Vrytvn at Namior the xxviij dae of genevere. My fader vold a hade yov to a come hoovpe to me to the marres hoovs to scopere. He vold a hoopend the gattes for yov vane yt vas vij of cloke, bovt I chovd hem yt vare better nae for devers Kavesses, and he sade ver for nat vane yt ys

meet vches of yovr sarvants that yov vele have maecome at yovr plsser. And w^yn xv daes yov sale her better tedeng. EDMUND SUFFOLK.

LETTER LIX.

Richard de la Pole to Erhard Bishop of Liege.

[IBID. vi. 18. *Orig.*]

*** Erhard de là Marck, Bishop of Liege, was afterwards Cardinal and Archbishop of Valencia. He was the friend and correspondent of Erasmus, and in great favour with Charles the Fifth. He died in 1538. His life was written by John Chapevill, a canon of his Cathedral of Liege. See also Ciaconii Vitæ et Res gestæ Pontif. Romanorum et S. R. E. Cardinalium; fol. Rom. 1677, tom. iii. p. 421.

DIGNISSIME Presul Princepsque illustrissime Ego tota cordis affectione dignitati vestræ me recōmendo plurimas benignitati v. referendo gratias propter illum amorem, benevolentiam favoremque quos ill^ma^. v. gratia cum Domini fratris mei . . . . humanissime ampliavit. At michi revera incertum non est, quod et nonnulla alia beneficia ob nostri intuitum et amorem D. v. Ill^ma^. in eo largissime operata est, pro quibus omnibus Immortales paternitati v. gratias sumus habituri. Et sicuti per v. gratiam cum eo honorabilissime inceptum est, ita (ut res expostulet) perseverare dignetur humillime queso. Et hoc unum pro firmo sciat amplissima v. gratia quod et domino meo fratri michique profecto (durante nobis vita)

gratissimum semper acciderit, quicquid pro v. dignitate etiam cum maximo labore et servicio nos nos reddere possemus. Valeat Ill^ma^ gratia v. principum decus in prosperitate semper felicissima. Raptim ex. Civitate Bude in Hungaria xviij° die mensis Aprilis Anno dominicæ incarnationis supra Mill^m^ quingentesimo septimo.

Dignitatis v. Consanguineus

RYCHARD SUFFOLK.

Reverendissimo in Xp'o patri ac domino Domino Errardo Episcopo Leoden. Duci Bullon. ac Comiti Lossen Principi Ill^mo^ et Domino suo observandissimo.

*** Two of the most important of Edmund Earl of Suffolk's forfeited estates in the county of Suffolk, named Combes and Swannes, together with the advowsons of churches, and all other their appurtenances, were given in the last year of Henry the Seventh to Sir George Nevyll Lord Bergavenny. The original grant is preserved among the Harleian Charters, Cart. Harl. antiq. 51. H. 18.

LETTERS

OF

THE REIGN OF

HENRY THE EIGHTH.

LETTER LX.

Sir Edward Howard, Lord Admiral, to Cardinal Wolsey, shewing the ill-victualling of the Navy.

[WOLSEY'S CORRESPOND. vi. 161. *Orig.*]

*** A mutilated Letter from Sir Edward Howard has been already printed in the Second Series of these volumes,[a] addressed to the King, by whom he had been commanded to send his Grace word "how every ship did sail." Sir Edward fulfilled his orders; but complains more than once in that Letter of the deficiency of victual, and says he had written to Master Almoner for it.

The Letter now presented to the reader is for victual; and it is addressed to "Master Amner." It may, or it may not be the identical Letter alluded to by Sir Edward: at all events, it explains more fully than the Letter already printed the manner in which the ships of Henry's navy were supplied when set afloat, and the difficulties in regard of movement which the Lord Admiral had to encounter. The vessels that had received their proportion for two months' flesh, it appears, could not bring about for five weeks; the barrels were full of salt; and when the pieces should have been penny pieces, they were scant halfpenny pieces; and where two pieces ought to make a mess, three would scarcely serve. Many of the vessels came out of Thames with a month's beer, trusting that the victuallers should bring the rest, and there came none. One ship with another, barely fifteen days' supply could be reckoned upon. Beer was the regular beverage. We have no mention of grog.

Sir Edward Howard's Letter is deserving preservation, if it were only to show the early use of nautical language.

The Harleian MS. 309. fol. 36 b. preserves a brief of Sir Edward's patent of agreement with Henry the Eighth, when he went as Admiral and Captain-general in the expedition to France in the fourth of the King's reign, dated March 18th.

The King retained him to be his Admiral, and chief and general Captain of his army then appointed to be set out; covenanting that the Admiral should have under him in the service 10,032 men, accompting himself for one, beside those that furnished the Bristol —

[a] Second Series, vol. i. pp. 213—217.

ships; of which 52 were to be captains, 5471 soldiers, 50 masters, 4015 mariners, and 440 gunners. The Admiral bound himself to do such service on the sea as the King's commission should enjoin and limit, during the King's pleasure. To have for his wages, diets, and rewards, 10s. per day; his captains, 18d.; every mariner and gunner, 5s. per month, without any other demand for wages, saving certain dead shares, as they were called, and rewards to the gunners for every particular ship. The King promised to victual the whole by a rate agreed upon under his own hand. This victual was to be by Indenture delivered in each instance to the captain of the vessel, and it was to be distributed to the King's best profit, and not wasted. Of all which wages, &c., the Admiral was to have the pay, with a month's advancement, by the hands of Sir Thomas Windham, treasurer for the wars for that service, and so from month to month. The ships were to be fitted out as the King and Council should think best. Inasmuch as that the King victualled the army, the Admiral was to answer him half of all manner of gains that he or his retinue should make by land or water; with all prisoners being Christians; one ship of two hundred tons, furnished and rigged; and all artillery in any other ship taken.

Maister Amner in my hartiest wise I cañ I recōmende me unto you, certifiing to you that I am now at the writyng of this my Lettre in Plimowthe rode, with all the Kyngs fleet savyng the shippes that be at Hampton, wich I loke for this nyght, for when I can open of the Wighth I wolde nat goo in but sent a shippe of Comptons to cause them to cōme in all hast, and the wynde hath byn ever syns as good as was possible.

And as for our Spanyards that shuld come oute of Themys I here no worde of them, Godde sende us good tydyngs of them.

Sir I thynke our besynes wilbe tried w^th^yn v. or vj.

days at the furdest, for an hulke that cam streight from Brest shewith for a certente that ther be redy cōmyng forward a c. shippes of warre, besids the galeis, and be prest uppon the first wynde: and sais that they be very well trymmed and will not faill to cōme owte and fight with us.

Sir tiiies be the gladdest tydyngs to me and all my capitayns and all the residew of the Army that ever cam to us. And I trust on Godde and saynt George that we shall have a fair day on them, and I pray Godde that we lynger no lenger, for I assure you was never army so falselie vitailled; they that receued ther proportion for ij. monthes flesche can not bryng aboute for v. weks, for the barells be full of salt. And when the peecis kepith the nowmbre, wher they shulde be peny peces, they be scante halfepeny peces. And wher ij. peces shulde make a messe, iij. will do but serve. Also many cum owte of Temys but with a monthes bere, trustyng that the Vittelers shulde bryng the rest; and here cōmyth none. I send you word for a sewrty here is not in this Army one with another past xv. dais.

Sir the Kateryn Fortileza hath troubled me be yonde reson, she browght owte of Themys but for xiiij. dais vitaill, and no vitelar is cōme to helpe her. And so have I vitailled her, with beere, ever sens. And so bryngs my vitallyng bak, for it is no

small thyng that v^{c} men spendith daily, and no provision here for her.

I have sende to Plumouth on myne awne hedde to gete some vitaill if it be possible, I trust ye will allow for hit. I wolde I had never a grote in England that I myght kepe thes West parties till they and I meete.

Sir, ye my Lords of the Kyngs moost honorable Counsell wrote to me of a proporcion that shulde be all redy delyverd. Sir if some be well vitailled the most parte be nat. And ye know well if half shulde lakke, hit wer as good in a maner that all lakked. In consideration to kepe thArmy together Sir, for Godds sake sende by post all along the coste that they brew bere, and make bisket that wee may have some refresshyng to kepe us togedor uppon this cost; orels we shalbe dryven to come agayn in to the Downes and let the Frenchemen take ther pleasure. And Godde knowith when we shall gete us up so high westward agayn. I had lever then that we shulde be dryven to that issew, to be put all the dais of my life in the peynfullest prison that is in Cristendome.

Sir the Kateryn Fortileza hath so many leekis by reson of Bedell the Carpynter that worked in her at Wolwiche, that we have had moche to do to kepe her above water; he hath bored an c agore[a] hoolis

[a] augur.

in her and left unstopte, that the water cam in as it wer in a seve. Sir this day I have all the calkers of tharmy on heer, I trust by to morow she shall be more stanche.

Sir wher ye write to me that ye send hois to take our pipes, Sir thei ar such men that they wolde throw them that ye sent with the vitaill ouer boorde. And when the Pipes hath been brought and they goon from us they throw them over borde, and goth in to Flawnderes. Sir I know no mannys proporcion but myn awne, nor one Capitayn knowith what his purser hath receued, for we lafte all our pursers at London to hast furth our vitall, and nother here we of our pursaris nor our vitaillis. And well I wote that I have geven such ordre in dispendyng of our vitaill that ther was never Army so straited, nat by one drynkyng in a day, wich I know well hath byn a grete sparyng, but for all this we be att issew that I shewed you befor.

And wher as ye write that it were no reason that the Kyng shulde pay for his awne good, Sir I am of the same opinion, but Sir or ever I had knowlage of any man, the delyverars of vitell had receued dyvers foists of diverse Shippes, and geven the stewards iiij^{d} for every toon drawyng, wich I thought a parelouse example. Howbeit one that Atcliff sent for the sealyng of certayn Commissions for the takyng and preservyng of the foists showed me that maister

Atclif had comaunded them to pay every mon iiij^{d}. for the drawyng of a ton. And Sir, if that had nat byn I shulde have seen all delyvered withoute any peny takyng; but Sir never man complayned to me of any such thyng. Sir, all the vitaill that shall come to us let it come to Dartmouth, for ther it may lie redy for us; and sewre inough Sir therys moche vitall at Sandwich, and they have no vessels to bryng it to us. Fill some of yo^{r} Spaynyards shippes ther belies full, iij or iiij of them will cary moch, and spare not to spende vitaill apon us this yere; for with Godds grace the fleete of Fraunce shall never do us hurte after this yere. And if they be so redy as the Hulke hath showed us for a certente, I trust to Godde and seynt George that ye shall shortlie here good tydyngs. And how so ever the mater gooth I will make a fray with them if wynde and wedor will serve, or x. days to an ende; therfor I pray you recomende me to the Kyngs noble Grace, and show hym that he trust no tydyngs till here worde from me: for I shalbe the first that shall know it if I leue,[b] and I shalbe the first that shall sende hym word. Sir I pray you recomende me to the Qwene's noble Grace. And I know well I nede nat to pray her to pray for our good spede and to all good ladies and gentlewomen, and to my felawes Sir Charles and Sir Henry Gilforde, and Sir spe-

[b] live.

ciallie recoīende me to my lorde my father, besechyng him of his blessyng. And Sir I pray you to knyt vp all, with have me moost humbly recommended to the Kyngs noble Grace as his moost bounden servaunte as knowith our Lord, who ever more sende hym victory of his enemyes, and you my speciall frende yo^r^ most harts desire. Written in the Mary Rose the v^th^ day of Aprile by your to my litill power, EDWARDE HOWARD.

Sir I neede not to write unto you what stormys we hadde, for ye know it well inough. Sir I saw never worse, but thanked be God all is weel, savyng the loss of one of our Galeis. All ill go with her. Sir I send you in this paquet a lettre to my wife, I pray you delyver it to her.

*** The Mary Rose, whence this Letter is dated, was the ill-fated vessel which, in the month of July 1545, was lost by the carelessness of her crew, in permitting her ports, which were within sixteen inches of the water, to remain open, while on the short passage from Portsmouth harbour to Spithead; during which, while tacking, she heeled so much upon her side that her ports were forced under water, and like the Royal George at a later period, and about a mile from the same spot, she sunk below the wave. Sir George Carew, her commander, with near seven hundred persons, chiefly soldiers and mariners, sunk with her. A Narrative of this loss was printed at Portsea, 16mo. 1842, the most curious particulars of which were furnished to the publisher by Sir Frederic Madden. Efforts to weigh up the wreck were made in the very year in which the Mary Rose was lost, and payments for that purpose continued to be made as late as the second year of Edward the Sixth. In 1836, and at several other subsequent periods, these efforts were renewed, and numerous substantial relics both of the vessel and her stores were recovered, among which were some very beautiful specimens of brass ordnance.

LETTER LXI.

Queen Katherine to Master Almoner. The coming hither of the Duke de Longueville.

[IBID. vii. 49. *Orig.*]

*** The Duke mentioned in this Letter was Louis d'Orleans Duc de Longueville, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Guinegate, August the 16th, 1513, and was sent to England. Anselme says his ransom amounted to a hundred thousand crowns, for the raising of which he was obliged to pledge his lands and goods. His captivity was useful to his country. He procured peace by negotiating the marriage of Louis the Twelfth with Mary, Henry's sister, whom he affianced. Three or four of his Letters are preserved in the Cottonian Manuscript, Calig. D. VI. foll. 117, 137*, 142, 142 b. Two of them, (one dated Canterbury August 16th, the other Estampes Sept. 2, 1514,) are to Mary, to hasten her journey to her marriage. In the Cottonian Catalogue, in the notice of three of these, he is wrongly called "Lewis Duke of Orleans." Hall says, "This Duke was highly entertained in England of many noblemen, and had great cheer; but, when they came into France with the Queen, he would scarce know them." He made his will July 31, 1516, and died the next day, August 1st, at Baugency.[a]

History has not recorded the name of the individual who took the Duc de Longueville prisoner at the battle of Guinegate; but it is preserved upon a monumental brass in the church of Hicham in Buckinghamshire.

"Here lieth Nicolas Clarke Esquyer sonne and heyer to Syr John Clarke of Weston Knyght that tooke the Duke of Longebyle prisoner: who maried Elizabeth Ramsay sole doughter and heyer unto Thomas Ramsoy Of Hycham Esquyer by whom he had iiij. children namely Jane, William, Dorothy, and John, and dyed of the Swett in The moneth of Julye in the yere of our Lorde M.CCCCCLJ."

MAISTER ALMONER I receyved your Lettre by the post, Wherby I understande of the commyng

[a] See Anselme, Hist. Genealog. et Chronologique de la Maison Royale de France, tom. i. p. 217.

hider of the Duc: and how the King is content that he shalbe in my houshold. Touching this matier I have spoken with the Counsaill to lokê and appointe what companye shalbe mete t'attende upon hym. Here is noon that is good for it but my Lord Mountjoye, who now goeth to Calays as chief Captain of the v^{c} men. And for this cause, and also that I am not soo wel accompaned as were convenient for his kepyng her, it is thought to me and my counsail that it shuld bee better the said Duc bee assone as he commeth conveyed to the Towr, specially the Scotts being soo besy as thay now bee, and I lokyng for my departing every houre, it shall bee a grete combraunce to me to have this prisoner here; seing that according to the Kings mynde he must be conveyed to the Towr at my going forward. I pray you shewe this to the King, and with the next messanger sende me an answer of his pleasir.

M^{r}. Almoner I am sory, knowing that I have been alwayes soo bounde unto you that now ye shal thinke that I am myscontent without a cause, seing that my servaunt asked of you noo lettre, ne brought you noon from me. The cause was, that ij. dayes befor I wrote unto you by Copynger, and at that tyme I had noo thing further to write, and with my servants unwise demeanur I am noo thing wel contente; ffor oon of the grettest comforts that I have now, is to here by your lettres of the Kings helthe; and of

all your newes; and soo I pray you M^r. Almoner to contynue as hiderto ye have doon: ffor I promise you that from 'hensforth ye shal lakke noon of myn. And befor this ye shuld have had many moo, but I thinke that your besnesse scantly geveth you leysser to rede my lettres. From hens I have noo thing to write to you, mor than I am suer the Counsaill enformeth the King. Prayeng God to sende us as good lukke against the Scotts, as the King hath ther. At Richemount the ij^de day of Septembre.

KATHERINE THE QWENE.

To Maister Almoner.

LETTER LXII.

Thomas Lord Howard, eldest son of the Duke of Norfolk, and Lord Admiral, to Wolsey; written immediately after succeeding to his brother's command in that office.

[IBID. vi. 153. *Orig.*]

MYN owne gode Master Awlmosner all such matiers as I have wryten to the Kyngs Grace off I woll leve unwriten to you; assewring you that I have here fownd the worst ordered Armye, and furthest out of rewle that ever I saw. This day when I cam hither I am sewer ther wer more then half the Armye on londe; and I fere me, by heryng say ther is a grete nomber stolen away. At my comyng to Exeter I herd of their departyng and so have sent

thorow all the contre to bryng them agayne. Never man saw men in greter fere then all the Masters and Maryners be off the Galies. In so moche that in a maner they had as leve go in to Purgatory as to the trade. But that notwithstondyng, iff the Kyngs Grace send me not contrarie comandement I trust to be there by ffryday at the furthest. Also the Kyngs lettre sent unto the Captayns hath gretly trobled and discoraged them: for they had trusted to have had grete thanks: and undowted as many jantilmen as wer warned theroff, did as valiauntly as was possible. And as for the Galies myght have be brent, but my brothir, whom God pardon, was so feise that he wold suffer no man to cast in wyldfier. And the said Galies dyd our men but litell hurt: but bothe the shorys wer so well bulwarked, and so innewmerable ordinance therin, that it is to wonderfull to here the report of them that saw it.

Gode master Awlmosner cause the Kyngs Grace to wryght unto the Captayns som favorable Lettre, ffor I assewre you it is nedefull: and iff any of them wold make labor to awayte on his Grace when he gothe over See, for Godds sake stope it: for and one shuld go, all the resydew wold desire the same.

Here is ij. men that as I here sey did their part veray ill that day my brother was lost. The one was Coke the Qwenys servant in a row barge, and thoder Freman my seid brother is howshold servant. Iff it

be off trewth I shall ponyshe them that all other shall take ensample. I assewryng you that I see veray few or none, grete nor small, that with their wills wold go agayne to the trade. What the cause is as yet I can not say, but shortly I trust to se iff the danger be so grete as I am enformed off. Besechyng you that the Kyngs Grace take no displesure with me that I tary here so long, for I assewre you no man is so wery theroff as I: and before Thursday it shall not be possible for us to depart. What for takyng in off vitell, wherof a grete part as yet is un come, and also I fere we shall have moche a do to get our Souldiors a borde. Also, the Anne Galaunt is in suche case that she shall not be able to go to the See this yere. She lieth here on dry grownde, and in her stede I have takyn another. I wold wright to you off many other causys, but that I woll not tary the post no longer: and iff the Kynges lettres come to Plymouth when I am gone, I shall leve one to bryng them after, with Godds grace, who kepe you. Scrybeled in gret hast in the Mary Rose at Plymouth half o^r after xj. at night the vij. day off May. Yo^r owne

THOMAS HOWARD.

To Master Awlmosner w^t
the Kyngs Grace.

LETTER LXIII.

Thomas Lord Howard to Wolsey. The difficulties which he has to encounter as Lord Admiral.

[IBID. vi. 158.. *Orig.*]

MASTER ALMONER with all my hert I recomande me unto you. Gode Master Almoner I have fownd you so kynd unto me that me thynk I can do no les then to wright unto you fro tyme to tyme of all my causis. So it is, thogh I be unable therfor, it hath plesed the Kyngs Grace to yeve this grete rome and auctorite more mete for a wise expert man then me. But sith it hath plesed his Grace to admytt me thereunto, as fer as my pore wit can extende, I shall endeuor my selff fro tyme to tyme to do all maner of seruyce wher I shall thynk to deserve his most desired favor. And gode master Almoner as my most synguler trust is in you, sind me both now and at all other tymes your gode advyse and consell, assewring you that never pore jantilman was in gretter fere to take rebuke and ill report then I am of suche as know not what may be done, wich generally be the grettest nombre, and for many causis, of wich I shall reherse a part. Furst I well perceyve what reports both this yere and the last was made off my brother, whom Jhesu pardon, because ther was none other servyce done consyderyng what grete charges

the Kyng was at in kepyng so grete a navye on the See. And I well know that I, nor no man hath better will nor more hardely durst serve his master then he, as the proffe hath shewed; and as for experience I am yet fer fro that he had, and yet his fortewne was not to have at all tymes the best report; many men puttyng fere what he durst do, wich opynions the day off his deth he well proved untrew. Alas Master Almoner I se not now how I shall eskape such reports, for I can not se how I may do any plesant servyce to my Master: ffor I see noe ways but one of the too. The one is that at my goinge to Brytaynge my fortewne myght have be so gode that either I myght have brenned the shippes at Brest castell, or els to have dystroyed the havyn there with drowniyng of shippes as I have before wryten unto you. Wich enterprises beyng debated before His Grace, and such dangers as I thoght myght therof ensew by mẽ declared before His Grace, I shewdè his Grace I durst not enterprise the seid feats onles that His Grace wold discharge me iff any mysfortewne fell by the same: and then hys Grace bad me not spare to adventure the same, and to go with his Armye in to the grete water of Brest. And now sith his departure hens my Lord of Wynchester, and my Lord Lizle hath deuysed upon the seid enterprises, and yesterday called me unto them and cõmaunded me in the Kyngs name not to

enter the water of Brest till I knew further of the Kyngs plesure, for grete causis wich they wold advertise the Kyng and his consell off: and so this matier takyng none effect, I se no way how I shall deserve thank oneles the Skotts and Danys joyne with the Frenchmen, without whom I never thynk we shall fynd the Frenchmen a brode: and therfor I beseche God that shortly they may joyn, wich onely may be the savegarde of my gode name. And gode Master Almoner iff ye se sewerly that the Skotts and Danys come not, let me have licence to discharge all this armye, save only the Kyngs shippes, with whom the Navie of France wol not fyght this yere. And as for the Spanyards here, I assewre you [they] wold fayne be at home ever sith they here of the trewes. And thus most hertly I beseche you, iff my mysfortewne shalbe to do no acceptable servyce, to be menys for me to the Kyng and his consell to consider that never man endured more payne then I shall do, to se all other wher they may do gode seruyce if they woll; and I can do none but his enemyes woll adventure as well as I. And for Godds sake let his Grace and his consell comande me to some herd enterprise to se if I woll folow the same, being in dispaire, save onely off the Skotts and Danys comyng.

Master Almoner all the premisses and all other my causis I remit to your wisdome, ffully trustyng that ye woll not onely fro tyme to tyme yeve me yor gode

advyse and consell, but also with yo^r frendly words withstonde all ill reports undeserved made of me, as my synguler trust is in you: and thus o^r Lord have you in his tuicion. Scribled at Hampton the v. day off Juny. Yo^rs asseuredly

THOMAS HOWARD.

To Master Almoner
with the Kyngs Grace.

LETTER LXIV.

Edmund Howard, third son of Thomas second Duke of Norfolk, to Cardinal Wolsey; overwhelmed in debt, and entreating for employment in the King's service.

[IBID. vi. 160. *Orig.*]

My duty remembryd, humebly I beseche youre Grace to be my good Lorde, for with owt youre graceus helppe I am uttyrly ondone. Syr so yt is that I am so far in danger off the Kyngs lawys by reasone off det that I am in, that I dare not go a brode, nor cume at myn owne howsse, and am fayne to absent me frome my wyffe and my poore chylderne, ther ys sotche wryts off excecuseons owt ayenst me; and also sotche as be my suretes ar dayle arestyd, and put to gret troble, whytche is to my gret shame and rebewke. Syr ther ys no helpe but throwgh your Grace and your good medeacone to the Kyngs Grace, in the whytche ys my synguler

trust: and your graceus favowre showyd onto me, in the opptaynyng of thys byll that I now doo labyr for, shall not only be merytoryus but shalbe the save garde of my lyff and releffe off my poore wyff and owre x. chylderne, and set me owt of det. And humebly I beseche your Grace for sotche poore servysse as I have done the Kyngs Grace, and trust for to doo, that I be not cast awaye; and if the Kyngs Grace or your Grace showlde comaunde me to doo eny servysse I wolde trust to doo exceptable servysse; and levyr I had to be in his Grace' servysse at the farthyst end of Krystendome then to leyff thus wretchydly, and dy with thowght sorowe and care. I maye repent that evyr I was noble mans sone borne, ledyng the sorafull lyffe that I leyff, and if I were a poore mans sone I myght dyg and delve for my levyng and my chylderne and my wyffys, for whome I take more thowght then for my selff: and so maye I not doo nowe but to gret reproche and shame to me and all my blood. Syr yff there be eny creature levyng that can laye to me other treasone, murdyr, ffellony, rappe, extorseon, brybre, or in mayntenyng or supportyng of eny of thes, and to be approvyd on me, then let me have the extremety of the Kyngs lawys; and I trust ther shall none laye ayenst me eny thyng to be approvyd to my reprotche but onely det. Syr I am enformyd ther shalbe a vyage made in to an newfounde land with

dyvyrs shypps and cappetayns and sogears in them; and I am informyd the vyage shalbe honerable and profytable to the Kyngs Grace and all hys reame. Syr if your Grace thynk my poore karkes eny thyng meet to serve the Kyngs Grace in the sayde vyage, for the byttyr passeon of Kryst be youe my good lorde ther in, for now I doo leyff as wretchyd a lyffe as ever dyd jentylman beyng a tru man, and nothyng I have to leyff on, nor to fynd me my wyffe and my chylderne met or drynke; and glad I wolde be to ventyr my lyffe to doo the Kyng servysse, and if I be put ther onto I dowt not but I shall doo sotche servysse as shalbe exceptable and redownd to hys Grace honowre. And Syr I have nothyng to losse but my lyff, and that I wolde gladly adventyr in his servysse trustyng therby to wyn sume honeste, and to get sumewhat toward my levyng; and if yt shall pleace the Kyngs Grace to have my body doo hym servysse in the sayd vyage, humebly I beseche your Grace that I maye know your pleasure therin. Syr I ensure you ther shall nothyng nor nother frend nor kyn let me, but with a wyllyng hert I wyll go, so yt shall stand with the Kyngs pleasure and yours. The Kyngs Grace beyng so good lorde to me throwghe your good medeacõne as to yeve and assyne my byll the whytche I now doo sew for, or to set me owt off det sume othyr ways. Syr I beseche your Grace to pardon me that I came not to your

Grace myselff acordyng to my duty, but surely Syr I dare not go a brode, and therfor I have bene thus bowlde to wryght to your Grace. All the premyssys consyderyd I humebly beseche your Grace to be my good lorde, for the passeon of Kryste and in the waye of charyte and pete. I beseche your Grace to pardon me of this my bowlde wrytyng, but very povyrte and neede forsyth me thus to doo, as knowt our Lorde Jhus, who have youe in hys blyssyd tuysseone. Wretyn with the hand of hym that ys assurydly yours, EDMUND HOWARD, KNYGHT.

To my Lorde Cardenalls good Grace, in hast.

LETTER LXV.

Another Account of the Battle of Floddon, A. D. 1513, *in a Letter from Dr. William Knight, the English Minister at the Court of Margaret Duchess of Burgundy, to Cardinal Bainbridge at Rome.*

[MS. HARL. 3462. fol. 32 b.]

LITTERÆ ORATORIS REGIS ANGLIÆ EXISTENTIS APUD ILLUSTRISSIMAM DOMINAM MARGARITAM, AD REVERENDISSIMUM D. CARDINALEM ANGLICUM, DE VICTORIA REGIS ANGLIÆ ET CEDE SCOTORUM REGIS.

REVERENDISSIME in Christo pater, &c. Die presentis mensis xvij. scripsi proximas meas Literas ad

D. V. reverendissimam quæ continebant magnam Victoriam ill. Comitis Surren. et aliorum Ducum contra Scotorum Regem; et heri Majestas Regia certior facta fuit a predicto ill. Comite Surren. Scotorum Regem in conflictu occisum fuisse non longius latitudine lanceæ ab illo. Prefatus Scotorum Rex ductus fuit Barrigen. Majestas Regia accepit paludamentum ejus. xii^{M}. Scotorum in conflictu occisa fuerunt: omnia tormenta et impedimenta bellica capta, cum tentoriis et tabernaculis. Ex nostris pauciores quingentis occubuerunt. Maxima pars Dominorum Scotiæ in prælio interfecta fuerunt; nam in Scotiam præter Thesaurarium rediit nemo. Dominus Sauarde[a] duxit primum agmen exercitus nostri; ill. Comes Surren. extremum.

Quantum attinet ad Obsidionem Tornacen. Dominus Lille vi cepit unam ex portis Civitatis, et nocte proxime preterita ingressus est predictam portam, in cujus rei signum abduxit duas Imagines quæ inter portas collocabantur. Civitas tormentis ita conquasiata est, ut jampridem miserit ad Majestatem Regiam Nuntios implorantes misericordiam, et hodie eis dabitur Audientia.

Postscripta. Fuerunt in exercitu Scotico nonnulli Galli, quorum una pars in conflictu interfecta fuit, altera trucidata ab ipsis Scotis, quia illis Gallis objecerunt ipsos causa destructionis suæ fuisse. xx^{a} Sept. ex Lille.

[a] Hauard, Howard.

LETTER LXVI.

King Henry the Eighth to Pope Leo the Tenth, in favour of the Observant Friars.

[FROM THE VATICAN TRANSCRIPTS, vol. xxxvii. fol. 17.]

*** The Franciscan, Observant, or Grey Friars were great favourites with Henry the Eighth till they interfered with his divorce. The character he gives of them in the present Letter is fervid and was probably dictated not only by a kind, but by a conscientious feeling at the immediate moment. How differently he felt at an after period as to Friars in general may be gathered from a SONG *in score*, still preserved in the Museum Library, in one of his own music-books, viz.

" Frer Gastkyn wo thou be,
qui manes hic in patria,
For all that her supportyth the,
thou makyst the way *ad Tartara;*
Tartary ys a place trewly,
pro te et consimilibus,
For hym that lyvyth in Apostacy,
absentyd *a claustralibus;*
A fysche to lyve all ways in lond,
quod vere mirabilius,
A frer sertayn that so doth stond
Amend, *et mane tuis fratribus;*
Lest the Devyll for the do send,
to present the *Demonibus.*
Et fac cum consilio.
For he that made these reimes
Would all such were *in pelago,*
In a bote full of holys,
ut ibi cum doloribus,
Ther myzth he ster and blowe the colys,
tyll he were *sub fluminibus.*
Show thys, I care not to whome,
Priori vel Episcopo,
For all such frers schold byde at home,
non vagans hic in seculo.
Qd. RAFF DRAKE."

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* SANCTISSIMO CLEMENTISSIMOQUE DOMINO NOSTRO PAPÆ.

BEATISSIME Pater, post humillimam commendationem et devotissima pedum oscula beatorum, conati

sumus, nonnullis jam nostris litteris, vestræ Sanctitati significare peculiarem nostram devotionem, ac ferventissimum studium erga Sanctam Familiam Fratrum Minorum de Observantia; sed certe affectum nostrum recte exprimere non valuimus, qui licet tantus sit quantus esse potest, minor tamen nobis videtur dictæ familiæ meritis, in qua Christianæ paupertatis, synceritatis, et charitatis exemplum nostra sententia maxime elucet hæc nostra sacra Familia a divitiarum spinis, quæ multos frugiferos olim agros jam totos obsident; adhuc munda jejuniis, orationibus, sacrificiis, hymnis, summa vitæ puritate, summa pietate, summis quoque laboribus diebus ac noctibus est occupata, Deoque peccatoribus placando ac reconciliando intenta. Porro adversus vitia, nulla alia religiosa Familia tantopere tamque assidue preliatur; nulla ad Dominici ovilis custodia tam multos animososque catulos producit: quare eam omni favore complectendam, juvandam, ampliandam, honestandam, et quasi virtutum plantarium deffundendam esse censemus. Cui rei nos pro virili nostra omnem operam damus, et quanto possumus patrocinio dictæ Familiæ semper præsto sumus; ideoque nuper intelligentes eam ejusdem quidem nominis, sed minime ejusdem observationis, qui Conventuales appellantur, continenter vexari precipue super nonnullis Conventibus in Provincia

Coloniensi, et duobus reformatis videlicet Gronyngeñ. et Dordraceñ. neque non super Aqueñ. Louvanien. Middelburgen. et Dysten Conventibus per felicis memoriæ Julium II. dictæ familiæ unitis, auxilium nullum efficacius ei præstare nos posse judicavimus, quam ipsam vestræ Beatitudini toto corde commendare, proinde maximum in modum vestram Sanctitatem rogamus ut dictam Familiam ab hujusmodi litibus alienissimam sua authoritate suoque numine protegere, ac ab omnibus Adversariis tueri, tum privilegia, indulta, et gratias quas supradictus vestræ Sanctitatis precessor Julius II. eidem Sanctæ Familiæ concessit corroborare, extinctasque per eundem suum precessorem lites penitus tollere, et breviter dictæ familiæ paci, quieti, tranquillitati, et incremento modis omnibus consulere dignetur, quod tanto confidentius a vestra Beatitudine non solum petimus, sed etiam exigimus, quanto ipsa suis precessoribus bonitate et vera sanctitate precellit. Huic nostro desiderio si vestra Sanctitas (uti speramus) solita sua in nos pietate ac benignitate annuerit, ingentem calculum suorum erga nos beneficiorum cumulo adjiciet, quæ vero dicta Familia et nos pro ea a vestra Sanctitate suppliciter petamus Reverendus in Christo Pater D. Episcopus Wigorniensis noster apud eam Orator uberius, expressiusque ipsi declarabit. Quæ felicissime ac diu-

tissime valeat. Ex Palatio nostro Grenvici die xij. Martii M.D.XIII.

E. V. S^tis^

devotissimus ac obsequentissimus filius

Dei gratia Rex Angliæ et Franciæ

ac Dominus Hiberniæ

HENRICUS.

LETTER LXVII.

The University of Cambridge to Wolsey, recently made Bishop of Lincoln, pressing him to accept their Chancellorship.

[MS. ADDIT. COLE. BRIT. MUS. 5783.]

*** John Fawne, the Vice-Chancellor, calls himself President of the University in this Letter, the Chancellorship being vacant.

HONORIFICENTISSIMO DOMINO THOMÆ LINCOLNIÆ PRÆSULI, FLORENTISSIMI AC METUENDISSIMI REGIS NOSTRI ELEEMOSYNARIO DIGNISSIMO, JOHANNES FAWNE UNIVERSITATIS CANTABRIGIÆ PRÆSIDENS, CUM TOTO REGENTIUM ET NON-REGENTIUM CONTUBERNIO S. IN D. SEMPITERNAM.

QUANTUM Gaudii ex his tuis Honoribus, Dignitatibusque cepere Docti omnes Pater ornatissime, non possumus Literis explicare: nec quidem ab Te, quandoquidem et literatissimus, et bonarum Literarum studiosissimus, uno omnium Consensu prædicaris: inter quos, et nos effusissime gaudemus, gra-

tulamurque Doctis omnibus, eum ad summum Honoris fastigium evectum, qui Literas ab Injuria vindicare et possit, et studeat. Neque cuiquam dubium erat, ad quem Fama tuarum Virtutum pervenit, quia aliquando extollereris. Quanti te fecit hujus Principis Pater, Regum nimirum prudentissimus, Nemo est qui nescit. Verum hujus Filius, Principum, non modo quos nostra vidit Ætas, sed quos veterum etiam Annales referunt, cordatissimus; quæque præcipua Regum virtus est, in deligendo quos diligat, diligentissimus: ita Te fovet, ornatque, ut nihil supra. Cui placuisse absolutæ tibi Laudis, et vel longissimi Præconii instar fuerit. Quis Prudentiam et Doctrinam tuam? Quis Justitiam et Liberalitatem? Quis reliquas Virtutes ignorat? Quibus gratissimus, jucundissimusque es Summis, privatis et infimis: quibus nos quoque allecti, Te nostrum Cancellarium, nostrum Patronum, nostrum denique Decus et Ornamentum delegimus. Sub quo bonæ artes, et ingenua studia floreant, niteantque: in quo maxime celebrando omnes Literati suos labores, suasque vigilias ponere debeant.

Proinde, Pater amplissime, hos nostros in te Animos boni consulas, Te etiam, atque etiam oramus, sinasque hunc Honorem, tuis virtutibus longe inferiorem, a nobis quam libentissime tibi delatum, reliquis tuis Titulis ornatissimis accedere. Quod si feceris quod te facturum minime ambigimus, Deo

Opt. Max. Rem gratissimam facies cujus Cultus per te magis ac magis crescat, et Eruditionem amplificatis, quæ Laudes tuas ad astèros propagare possit. Nos id unum quod possumus, et Nestoreos tibi Annos, et perpetuum Exemplar, et nos, nostramque Academiam protege, fove, exorna.

Iidem tui Clientuli
et in Christo Filioli.

Cantabrig. 9 Cal. Jun.
Anno a Christo nato, 1514.

LETTER LXVIII.

Wolsey's Reply to the University of Cambridge, declining the Honour offered to him.

[MS. BRIT. MUS. ADDIT. *ut supr.*]

*** The University in the Letter which precedes this, went out of their way to select an individual for their Chancellor, who was neither a member of their body, nor had deserved any thing at their hands. Wolsey's answer is dignified and consistent; full of acknowledgement for the honour done to him, with promises of patronage and service, which did not go unfulfilled at a later day.

Ordinarily the Cardinal had no objection to have honours heaped upon him; but in this instance it seems fair to conclude that his determination had been already taken that the stream of his bounty was to flow to Oxford, and on that account that the acceptance of the honour would have involved him in difficulty. He pleaded the weight of business in his Letter, and gave other, private reasons, to the Proctors who came to invite him, for them to detail to the University.

THOMAS LINCOLN. EPISCOPUS, VENERABILI CŒTUI ET CONGREGATIONI REGENTIUM ET NON-REGENTIUM UNIVERSITATIS CANTABRIGIENSIS, S.P.

REDDITÆ mihi fuerunt Literæ vestræ a Viris præstantissimis, qui, ut intelligo, Remp. vestri Gymnasii hoc anno curant administrantque, quibus nihil gratius, nihil jucundius esse debuit: utpote præ se ferentes summam erga me Benevolentiam atque Amorem. Detulistis enim mihi ultro eos Honores, qui apud vos sunt supremi et honorificentissimi: cum nondum quicquam tale de vestra Universitate meruerim. Studebo igitur, non solum Gratias quas possum maximas vestris Humanitatibus agere, sed etiam dabo operam, ut quam sæpissime (si quibus in rebus possum) non tam vobis pro mea virili gratificari, quam de omnibus et singulis vestræ Universitatis (ubi locus et tempus erunt) bene mereri. Multo plura ad vos scribenda decreveram, si non meum animum multa, et magna negotia Regni et Regis occuparent, quo minus id facere impræsentiarum liceat. Quamobrem reliqua in mandatis, vestris Magistratibus, horum latoribus, dedi, vobis exponenda. Quibus eam fidem habere rogamus, perinde ac si coram loqueremur. Valete.

Totus ad Vota,

T. LINCOLN.

Ex ædibus nostris
Londini, 2 Junij, 1514.

LETTER. LXIX.

Richard Pace to Wolsey. The Cost of the Cardinal's Bulls.

[STAT. PAP. OFF. WOLSEY'S CORRESP. IX. 93. *Orig.*]

Most reverende fadre in Godde aftre most humble commendacions I have recevide your Graces letters datide at London the xxv. daye off August, conteignynge your Graces desyre enempst the payment off oon M^{li}.CCLX^{li}, for th'expedition off your sayde graces Bullis. My lorde yffe I were no more faytheful and lovynge unto your Grace than thoos were that didde signifie unto you that I schulde have that summe off mony in my handis off my late Lordis gooddis, your Grace schulde be greatly dissevidde and hyndrydde in th'expedition of your sayde Bullis: for upon my faythe and conscience at the receptt off your Graces lettres i hadde not oon duc' off my late lordis in my hands, nodre the banke off Grimaldis, nodre none odre hadde ony mony off my sayde lordis: and all the stuffe that was lefte in my handis at the departer off Mr. Burbanke bi inventari, accomptyng desperate detts, doithe not amounte to the summe off me askydde as itt doithe evidently appere bi the accompts; because that i can not sett sum thyngis as they be estemidde, as is cloithe sent owte off Englande, nothynge set by here because the colors off them be not goodde; yett not wythestond-

ynge all thies difficulties I, beynge most desirose to accomplysche your Graces desyre and commaundment, have made suche schyfte bi the helpe off my frendis that I have payede unto the Banke off Grimaldis iiij^{M}. duc' off golde for the sayde expedition off your Graces Bullis. And because ther doithe lake sum money off the summe desiridde bi your Grace, I wull kepe for the same certayne ryche vestiments and an altare cloithe off golde whyche stuffe didde cost my late Lorde v^{c}. duc' off golde. Farthermore I do wryte at thys tyme unto M^{r}. Burbanke for to presente unto your Grace oon odre ryche cloithe off arrace and sum odre thyngis wurthy to be gevyn unto your Grace. So that bi the sayde summe off mony bi me payede, and thys forsayde stuffe, your Graces desyre schal be undoubtidly fulfyllidde or verraye litle lake, which I have wretyn to M^{r}. Wythers for to supplie.

And as touchynge your Grace's desyre that goodde respecte and consideration schulde be hadde unto your places whyche be fallen into great decaye, thys your Grace's petition is undoubtidly veraye reasonable. For he that doithe occupie and exspende the gooddis off the Churche schulde off dewtie and conscience see diligently that the byldynges apperteignynge unto the same schulde be conveffiently reparydde and upholden. I do wryte at thys tyme unto M^{r}. Wethers off this matier, and as principal

executor namidde in my late Lordis testamente, do consent fully that goodde respecte and consideration be hadde hereunto, not oonly for the contentation off your Grace's mynde, but also for the welthe off my late Lordis sowle. As for M^r^. Burbank I doubt not but he wull consent to all thynge determinidde bi me.

My Lorde your Grace schall undrestonde that I have to the uttermust off my power accomplyschydde your desyre, for the love oonly and faythefulnesse that I do owe unto your Grace, and not inducydde therunto bi ony mannys crafty wrytynge or promise made unto yow: for M^r^. Wethers haddè none autoritie for to make ony promise for ony mony to be payde off my late lordis gooddis beyng in Itali, for he is not executor for the administration off the gooddis lefte bi my sayde late Lorde in Itali; but I alone and M^r^. Burbanke: and all thre in Englande: and as for me I am nodre bunde to geve hym accompte nor none odre off the gooddis lefte here. Albeitt to thintent that your Grace maye evidently see boithe my faythe and substantiál dealynge, I wull that yow be pryvey to every thynge lefte here: and as touchyng mony, whatt was lefte, itt doithe appere bi the lettres testimonial of the bancar in whoos handis itt laye, whyche lettres your Grace schall receve wythe thies: and also oon odre lettre frome my lorde the Cardinal Surrentineñ to whome my Lorde in hys dethe bedde didde confesse whatt

summe of mony he hadde in Itali: and as for thexpences funeral and odre necessari thyngis aftre my lordis dethe, *secundum ritum Romanæ Curiæ* itt schall appere bi suche substantial accompts as Mr. Burbanke haithe home wythe hym.

My lorde, for as muche as i have here nothynge in maner lefte, and have hadde greate labors and paynes wythe in perdie off my lyffe synst the dethe off my late lorde (whoos gooddis diverse fals men doithe aske off me wrongefully, bryngynge in fals wyttnesse lyke them selfs) I must most humbly desyre your Grace to be goodde lorde unto me in commaundynge Mr. Wethers to see to me accordyngly boothe for the goodde and faytheful service I didde many dayes unto my late lorde; and also for the fayth he hadde in me and th'auctoritie that he didde put me in in hys last wylle, so that I have not *fumum tantummodo magni nominis, sine fructu et utilitate* by reason off myne absence.

As touchynge your Graces most kynde wrytynge in offryng unto me promotion, and wyllynge to admitte me unto your service, I trust to be as hable as ony odre belongynge to my late lorde to do unto your Grace acceptable service, odre wythein the realme off Englande or wythe owte itt. I can no lesse do but recommende most lowly unto your Grace my late lordis bredren, kynnesmen, and women, wythe all odre hys servants, to thintent they be not

deprividde off suche legaces as my late lorde didde bequest unto them. For i hadde rather have no parte off hys goodds, that evyr itt schulde be sayde bi ony man that i for myn owne private profecte wolde hyndre ony kynnesman or servaunte to my late maister off the value off an halfe peny. As knowithe all myghty Godde whoo preserve your goode Grace in longe helthe and continual prosperitie.

Frome Rome the x. off Septembre M.D.XIIII. By your Graces humble servaunte and beadman.

Post scripta. Aftre the wrytynge off my forsayde Lettre I founde the means to paye for th'expedition off your Graces bullis oon M^li^ RICHARDE PACE.

Thys post departide so hastyly and so unwarly that I couithe not have the Cardinal of Surrentes lettres afore namide, nodre thoos off the banke of Saules. Bi the nexte post your Grace schall not fayle to have them.

Reveren. in Xpo patri ac Domino D. Thomæ Lincolinen. Episcopo et Electo, et Domino suo colendissimo.

LETTER LXX.

Pace to Wolsey in continuation of the former Letter.

[IBID. IX. 92. *Orig.*]

My Lorde I hadde forgoten to wryte in my longer Lettre that the Popis Holines doethe owe unto me vij^c^. duc' off golde for so muche plate hadde off me,

whyche mony I have desiridde for thexpedition off your Gracis Bullis; but I can gete no peny theroffe. Wherfore thoos that didde wryte unto me that my late Lordis gooddis schulde be sequestrate yffe I didde not content your Grace I wolde they schulde cause the sayde vij^{c}. duc' to be sequestrate. They neadide not to fere me wythe no suche wurdis; for I was more redy to accomplysche your Graces desyre than they, as all honest Englyschemen in Rome can testifie. As for the poysonynge off my late Lorde Cardinal itt haithe bene in the handis off the gretest lernidde men in Rome, and determinidde bi the most parte off them that my sayde Lorde was poysonydde in suche maner as is comprisidde in the commission of hym that didde itt, sende by me unto the Kyngis Grace. I maye not wryte herin that I do knowe. The Bishoppe off Worcestre haithe marvalose grete favor *ad occultandam veritatem. Sed immortalis Deus tam horrendum scelus videtur odisse.* Die xi. Septembris.

LETTER LXXI.

Richard Pace recommending Wolsey to seek the Cardinalate.

[IBID. IX. 87. *Orig.*]

*** It might be supposed from this Letter that Wolsey's application to be made a Cardinal originated in Pace's suggestion; but

Henry the Eighth had written to Rome prior to the arrival of Pace's Letter. A copy of his Epistle, "Angliæ Regis ad Leonem X. pro Episcopo Lincolniensi ad Cardinalatus honorem promovendo," will be found among the Vatican Transcripts, MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 15,387. p. 449. dated from Greenwich, 12 Aug. 1513.

Most reverende fadre in Godde aftre most humble Commendations. Because I wull not troble your Grace wythe many wurdis in oon miserable and tediose matier off the poysonynge off my late lorde Cardinal I have desiridde Mr Burbanke (to whome I have wretyn theroff at large) for to certifie your Grace off all the processe in the sayde matier hydre too. Oon odre thynge I have to advertise your Grace off, whyche is off importance: and gretly touchythe your Grace's honor. I have bene latly advertisidde secretly bi iij. greate persons, and oon off them that the Popis Holines doithe most trust in hys most secrete causis, that the Popis Holines didde make inquisition off them all thre off your Graces qualities; signifiynge unto them that they didde labor in Englande for to make your Grace Cardinal, whyche thynge wolde I be gladde to see not oonly for your Grace's private honor, but also for the commune, boithe honor and profecte, off the hole realme: for I assure you my Lorde itt is necessari for the Kyngis Grace to have oon or ij. yff nede were Cardinals, and resident in the Courte off Rome, boethe for knowliege off all thyngis that schall succede here; and also for the creation off Popis; whyche thynge is off greate im-

portance to thoos Prińces bi whoos means they be create, as they myght be bi our most Christian Kynge aswell as odre Princes yffe he hadde sum Cardinals in thys Courte as odre have. My Lorde I can not tell whedre your Grace haithe attemptede ony suche thynge or noo, nodre I wull presume to knowe itt: but yff I hadde ony certayntie theroff I couithe ryght wèll schewe unto you whatt persons in thys Courte be most meate to brynge itt to passe, and who maye most let itt, yff they be not made frendis for that intent. Nothynge movidde me thus to wryte unto your Grace but oonly love and fidelitie: and that I am marvaluse desirose to se my late Maisters successor no lesse in dignitie than he was. As knowith Godde whoo preserve your Grace in longe helthe and continual prosperitie. Frome Rome the xxv. off Septembre. By your Graces most faytheful servant and beadman

RICHARDE PACE.

R^mo. in Ch^o. Patri ac Domino Thomæ
Eboracen. Archiepiscopo, Angliæ
Primati, Domino suo observantissimo.

Post scripta. An Erle off thys cuntreye haith wretyn unto the Ambassadors off the Kynge off Castill resident here, that the Frenche Kynge haith made an army off xxx^M. men and that x^M. archiars Englyschemen schall junes wyth them; whiche he affirmith to be nowe schippidde redy to passe the see

s join.

and to take there waye towardes Lorene. And the Frenchmen bi there lies haith confirmidde the same. And thoghe that I am well assurydde that thys is but a faynydde matier and especially touchynge the sayde archiars, as I have sufficiently declarydde, yitt thys nation is verraye evyl contentidde wyth the herynge theroff. And theye be wurse contentidde wyth thys, viz that the Frenche Kynge haith wretyn hydre, that I am here other for to make hym Emperor, or els the Kynge my mastre for to let the Kynge off Arragon off his intent and purpose. Your Grace maye knowe herby in what case I do stonde. I have no neade off thys frenche troble, for I have to muche besidis that, wyth lytle bodyly helth, bi the reason off most feruent heats whyche we have now here. Iterum valeat D. V. R^ma^.

To my Lord Cardinal's Grace.

LETTER LXXII.

Nicholas West Bishop of Ely to Cardinal Wolsey, on the dilapidated state in which he found his Cathedral at his Visitation. State of the Fen at Wisbeach.

[IBID. xvi. 84. *Orig.*]

*** Nicholas West received the temporalities of the See of Ely May 18, 1515. He died April 28, 1533. Notwithstanding the prospect of poverty held out in this Letter, he is recorded to have lived both at Ely and elsewhere in the greatest splendor of any prelate of his time: entertaining in his family constantly a hundred domestics,

to the meanest of which he paid as wages forty shillings per annum, and to the rest four pounds: and to each of them he gave annually, in summer, three yards and a half in cloth; and for their winter cloaks four yards. He is also stated to have relieved no fewer than two hundred poor people daily at his gate with meat and drink.

My singular goode Lorde I humbly recommend me to your Grace besechyng you to contynue my goode Lorde, and I schall ever be as I am bownden your dayly bedeman. My Lorde I have begonne my Visitacyon in my Cathedrall Churche of Ely, wher I have ffounde suche Mysorder, as well touchyng the non observance of Religion as allso dilapidacyon and wastyng of the temporall goodes, that and yf yt had nott ben lokyd upon betymes, I suppose yt wold not have ben abull to have contynuyd a Monastery ffower yeres. And so I am sweyr[a] your Grace wolde thynke yf ye knewe the specyalltyes. I have leyn ther thys moneth, and taken muche payne to reduce yt to some goode order, and for that purpose I have made a new Prior and dyverse other hed Offycers, whyche by the grace of God and your ffavor I trust schall reduce yt to a goode state wythin some processe of tyme. And the seconde day of thys Monethe I departyd from thens to Wysbyche countreth, for the draynyng of yt and the reparacyons of the Seey bankys brokyn by the Tempest and wynde thys wynter, wher I have seen the pyteoust syght that ever I sawe, for yt ys allmost uni-

[a] sure.

versally drownyd and under water: in somuche that he that in a lytell tyme past myght spend a hundreth poundes by yere, may nott att thys day spend xx^{ti}. as the Inhabitauntes ther credably hathe informyd me. Wherfore I purpose by the grace of God and the Kyngs Highnes ffavor and yours, to spend muche parte of thys summer for the remedy and help of the same by the advyse and cownsayle of the wysest, the ayde and the assystance of the remanent of the inhabytauntes ther of the Cowntreth, ffor yf yt be nott helpyd thys Somer I ffere me, and so the comon opynyon ys, that yt wyll never be recoverd; wherby the See of Ely schold lose yerely att the least ffyve hundreth marcke, besyde the great and importable losse of many other gentylmen and comoners whyche surmowntythe the fforsayde some of v^{c}. marke. And allbeyt the charge wyll draw above a M^{l}. mark, and that I att this owre owe the some of xiiij. c & l^{li}. and have not in my handes, as God be my juge, ffully the some of c^{li}. Yet for the Comon welth, trustyng upon your ffavor, and the goode help of the Countreth, I wyll enterpryse the matter thowgh I shold sell all the Plate I have, and nyght and day putt all my study and dylygence for the attaynyng of my purpose; ffor yf I be nott present my syllfe, thei have so many froward heddys, and wyth that thei loke so muche upon their singular proffetts, and be of so dyverse opynyons, that yt wyll never take effecte. Wherfor I eftsones hartely be-

seche your Grace to be goode Lord to me and the Countreth in thys behallff; and that I may for thys pyteous cawse a whyle tarry emongyst them for the spedy remedying of the same: Moreover your Grace knowythe that by your comawndement I made an ende wyth Syr John Stanley for myn implements and dylapydacyon, in the whyche ende we concluded that Tyllesley the other Executor scholde gyve me cc^{li}. and Syr John Standley ys bownden to me in an Obligacyon of a Thowsand marcke for to ayde and assyste me for the recovery of the same. And my Lorde I have now before you in the Chauncery the sayde Tyllesley in seute for the same sume. Wherfore I hartely beseche you to be my goode Lorde and consydering my povertye, great charge and dett that hangys upon my hand, ffavorably to help me to recover my sayde Dett, ffor on my conscyence a thowsand poundes over and above that I have receyved and schall receyve wyll nott repayre and make up the decayes of my Manoers and ffermys, besydes the unreasonable spoyle that hathe ben made by the Executors in the sayde Manoers. And thys att the reverence of God, and I wyll dayly as I am bownden be your trewe bedeman by the help of Jhu who have you in hys tuycon. ffrom Wysbyche the iiijth day of Aprill.

Y^{r} chapelayn and bedman NI. ELIEN.

To my syngular goode Lorde my Lorde Cardynall Chaunceler of Inglond.

LETTER LXXIII.

Richard Pace to Wolsey. The King determined not to have the Prior of St. Bartholomew's made Bishop of St. Asaph.

[IBID. ix. 7. *Orig.*]

*** A part of this Letter will bring to the reader's mind the short Inscription which William of Wykeham Bishop of Winchester placed upon several parts of Windsor Castle, when he reinstated that fortress for Edward the Third. "Hoc fecit Wykeham."

Wolsey was correct in stating to his master that Henry's predecessors had often rewarded their clerks of the works with bishopricks; but Henry's reply that such rewards were given not for their skill in building only, but "for some other great qualities (as profound learning) annexed unto the same," had more in it of sound remark. "Nevertheless," says Pace, "His Grace saith that he is content to remember the said Prior's labours with some other smaller promotions than bishopricks."

The Prior of St. Bartholomew's, whom Wolsey would have preferred on this occasion, was William Bolton, who came to that office in the 21st of Henry VII A.D. 1505. Weever, in his Funeral Monuments, p. 434, says, "He was a great builder, and repairer of the Priory and the Parish Church, and of divers Lodgings belonging to the same: as also of new he builded the Manor of Canonbury (now called Canbury) at Islington, which belonged to the Canons of this house. This Bolton, and the rest of his brethren," he adds, "were portraied upon a Table sometimes hanging in this Church; now it is in Sir Robert Cotton's Library; holding up their hands to a crucifix, under whom these verses were depensiled.

Gulielmo Bolton precibus succurrite vestris
Qualis erat pater hic, Domus hæc, et cætera monstrant."

The only preferment subsequently acquired by Bolton was the Rectory of Harrow in Middlesex, to which he was instituted in 1522. Here also he is said to have exercised his skill in building, and, according to Hall, subjected himself to popular ridicule.

"In this yere" (says Hall, 15th Hen. VIII., A.D. 1524,) "Through Books of Ephimerides and Pronostications made and calculate by

Astronomers, the people were sore affrayde, for the said writers declared that this yere should be suche Eclipses in watery signes, and such conjunctions, that by waters and fluddes many people should perishe. Insomuche that many persones vitailed themselfes, and went to high groundes for feare of drounyng; and specially one Bolton, which was Prior of Saint Bartholomew's in Smythfeld, builded him an house upon Harrow-on-the-Hill, only for feare of this flud, and thether he went, and made provision for all thinges necessarye within him for the space of two monthes."

Stow, however, in his Survey of London, says, "This was not so, indeed, as I have been credibly informed. True it is, that this Bolton was parson of Harrow, and therefore bestowed some small reparations on the parsonage house, and built nothing there more than a dove-house, to serve him when he had forgone his Priory."

Camden, in his Remains concerning Britain, 8vo. Lond. 1674, p. 213, among the Rebuses, says, "It may seem doubtful whether Bolton, Prior of St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield, was wiser when he invented for his name a bird-bolt through a tun, or when he built him an house upon Harrow Hill, for fear of an inundation after a great conjunction of planets in the watry triplicity." Bolton's device, alluded to by Camden, stood, carved in stone, inserted in several places of the garden-wall of Canonbury House, in the remembrance of the present writer. But it was not a rebus; it was his coat of arms, granted to him by Thomas Benolt, Clarencieux King of Arms, 22 March, 1529, viz. "Unum Scutum cum insigniis honoris sicut hic Galhicè declarabitur, *C'est assavoir de queulz a ung vayceau en façon d'ung toneau d'argent relie de mesures perce d'ung matenas d'or enplume d'argent.*" MS. Arundel. Brit. Mus. 26. fol. 71 b.

Weever is wrong in representing Bolton as the last Prior of St. Bartholomew's, and that he died in the fourth of Edward the Sixth. Fuller, Abbot of Waltham, was the last Prior of St. Bartholomew's. Bolton died April 15th, 1532, and was succeeded by Fuller.

PLEAS itt your Grace as touchynge your Lettres derectidde unto the Kyngis Highnesse for the promotion off the Prior off S. Bertholomes to the bushoprycke off S. Assaph, hys Grace haith comaundydde me to make thys awnsuare that affore the receptt off

your Graces lettres he was myndydde to geve the sayde bushoprycke to a freer, and doith still persevere in the same mynde sayynge that your Grace doith knowe the sayde freer to be a grete lernydde man and an honest man: and that bi thiese ij. qualities he must have better knowliege off the cure off sowle than the sayde Prior, in whom he doith not knowe suche lernynge. And where as your Grace doith make mention in your lettres off diverse presidents off the Kyngis predecessors declarynge howe theye dydde promote unto lyke dignities the Maistres off there werks: hys Grace sayeth that itt is not lykely that they so dydde for thys qualitie oonly that they couith goodde skele in byldyngs, but for sum other greate qualities (as profounde lernynge) annexidde unto the same. Nethelesse hys Grace sayeth that he is content to remembre the sayde Priors labors wyth sum other smaller promotions than bushoprychis. Hys Grace wolde not name the sayde freer unto me, but itt is suerly Standyche: to my greate discomforte in so muche that I dydde neuyr wryte Lettres in my lyffe more to my displeasor than thiese: parte for your Graces causes, and parte for the sayde Priors, whoo is more wurthy to have greter promotion than thys, than is the other to be in lyffe. "*Sed Principum voluntatibus arduum est refragari.* Your Grace schall receve agayne suche wrytyngis as ye desyrydde to be remyttidde. *Valeat*

felicissime Rma. D. V. Cui me humil. Commen. et trado. Ex Abendon xiiij. Aprilis.

E. D. V. R^me^. fidelissimus Servus

RI. PACEUS.

To my Lord Cardinall's Grace.

LETTER LXXIV.

Pace to Wolsey. The King himself reads all the contents of Wolsey's pacquets. Appoints Dr. Standish Bishop of St. Asaph.

[IBID. vol. ix. 6. *Orig.*]

*** What Pace conjectured only in the preceding Letter is announced from authority in this. Henry Standish was selected by the King himself, in opposition to Wolsey's wishes, for the bishoprick of St. Asaph. He was of the ancient family of Standish still flourishing in Lancashire; became a Franciscan or Grey Friar at an early age; and studied in the Convent of his Order at Oxford. He afterwards became Warden of the Grey Friars in London, and subsequently Provincial of the Friars Minors. He was also, at one time a suffragan bishop, under the title of "Camarensis."

Anthony a Wood and Bishop Tanner are both at fault in their dates of Standish's preferment. He was appointed to the see of St. Asaph, not in 1519, but in the middle of April, 1518;[a] and consecrated, not as Wood supposes, at Oxford, in the Church of the Minorite Friars, but by Archbishop Warham at Otford in Kent, on July 11th following.

Wood ascribes "several Sermons" to him "preached to the people;" and a Treatise against "Erasmus's Translation of the New Testament." No Sermons, however, by Standish are to be found in the libraries in England, nor any such Treatise as Wood attributes to him, against Erasmus.

The reader is, doubtless, aware that Erasmus had the distinguished honour of giving to the world the first edition of the New

[a] MS. Lansd. 979. fol. 141.

Testament in Greek, folio, Basle, 1516. It was this which was attacked by Standish, in a Sermon at Paul's Cross, and the heads of the attack are given by Erasmus himself in a Letter to his friend Herman Buschius, dated from Louvain, July 31, 1520, in which he says,

"Standiciani ingenii gustum tibi dabo. Non cupit, opinor, ipse celari, quod publice magna hominum celebritate designavit. Concionabatur in cœmiterio Divi Pauli, Londini. Cumque sermonum exorsus esset a charitate, subito pudoris omnis simul et charitatis oblitus, cœpit debacchari in nomen ac famam meam, testatus imminere Christianæ religionis *πανολεθριαν*, nisi novæ translationis omnes subito de medio tollerentur." [b]

This Letter in refutation of Standish's remarks is very long, and in part relates to another writer, who, as well as Standish, had attacked the correctness of Erasmus's text.

In 1523 (not 1526, as Wood and Tanner state), Standish and Sir John Baker were sent ambassadors to Denmark,[c] and in 1530 he was one of the bishops who aided and directed Queen Catherine in her resistance to Henry's suit for the Divorce.

Bishop Standish died July 19th, 1535, and was buried in the Church of the Grey Friars in Newgate Street, beneath a tomb, for the construction of which he had left £13. 6*s.* 8*d.* He was esteemed a learned man in his time; and was so zealous an asserter of the Catholic religion, that had he lived a little longer he would in all probability have undergone some severe trial for resistance to his patron's will.

In 1515, while the Parliament was sitting, Kedirmynster, Abbot of Winchcombe, preached at Paul's Cross, and maintained in his Sermon that the Clergy were exempt from temporal jurisdiction. This position was vehemently opposed by Standish in another Sermon: and it is not impossible that the King on this account remembered the Friar. Standish belonged to an Order, too, for which Henry had a peculiar reverence, till the Friars of Greenwich interfered so boldly and boisterously in the business of his divorce.

PLEAS itt your Grace thys is to certifie the same that thys same houre I have recevidde your Grace's

[b] Erasmi Epist. fol. Lugd. Bat. 1706. Ep. DXVI. [c] Rym. Fœd. vol. xiv. fol. 13.

lettres datidde the xvij. off thys present monyth wyth a pacquett directidde unto the Kyngis Highnesse whyche I schall immediatly deliver unto hys Grace after dynar, and then demaunde licence accordynge to your Graces commaundment to repare unto the same in all convenient hast. And where your Graces pleasor is that I schulde move the Kyngis Highnesse to rede hym selfe suche lettres as be comyn owte of Spayne, your Grace schall undrestonde that no lettres be sende unto hys Highnesse undre your Graces pacquett, but hys Highnesse doith rede them every wurde. Thys daye His Grace haith yevyn the bushopryche off S. Assaph to Doctor Standyche and cōmaundydde me to advertise your Grace theroff, and to desyre the same in hys name to be goodde lorde unto the sayde doctor.[d] *Reliqua presens dicam. Valeat felicissime Rma. D. V. Cui me humil. Commen.* Ex Wudstokke xviij. Aprilis.

To my Lord Cardinall's Grace.

[d] A copy of the Latin letter which Henry the Eighth wrote to Leo the Tenth, recommending Standish for the bishopric of St. Asaph, dated Wodestock, 28 April 1518, is among the Transcripts from the Vatican Archives, lately deposited in the British Museum.

LETTER LXXV.

Dean Colet to Cardinal Wolsey for the promotion of the Under-Master of his School to some Ecclesiastical preferment.

[IBID. iii. 59. *Orig.*]

*** The person for whom Dean Colet here solicits was John Rightwise, a native of Sawle in Norfolk, who married Dionysia, William Lilly's daughter: and who succeeded Lilly in the Head-mastership of St. Paul's School in 1522. Hatcher, in his History of King's College, says, "He made the Tragedy of Dido out of Virgil, and acted the same, with his scholars, before Cardinal Wolsey with great applause." He died in 1532.

Rightwise was eminent as a grammarian. He revised, corrected, and made some useful additions to his father-in-law's Latin Grammar; adding to it the portions known as the "*Propria quæ maribus*" and "*As in præsenti.*" Lilly's Grammar, so improved, came out at Antwerp in 1533, the year after Rightwise's death. "Guilielmi Lilii grammatici et poetæ eximii, Paulinæ Scholæ olim Moderatoris, de Generibus Nominum ac Verborum Præteritis et Supinis Regulæ Pueris apprime utiles. Opus recognitum et adauctum cum Nominum ac Verborum Interpretamentis, per Joannem Rightuissum Scholæ Paulinæ Præceptorem. Antverpiæ apud Michaelem Hillenium, An. 1533," 12mo.

No date is given to this Letter: but it could not have been later than 1519, as Dean Colet died in that year.

R^me^. P^r^. Is. a quo accepisti has literas est hypodidascalus et submagister Scholæ nostræ grammatices, Vir bonæ litteraturæ et proculdubio eximiæ honestatis. Is habet quod agat cum R^ma^ P. tua. Egit mecum ut ad tuam presentiam aliquem aditum habeat per meas literas. Pro tua bonitate dignare admittere hominem facile ad conspectum tuum, vti

intelligo ejus causa est de quodam beneficio resignato; plane est dignus beneficio Ecclesiastico vel magno: quare in istum virum si quid contuleris meo judicio gratiam tuam optime collocabis, antequam istinc discesseris visam dignitatem tuam, cupio ut semper quam bellissime valeas, atque quo melius tueare valetudinem tuam opto ut cum medicis, et cum medica arte parum commercij habeas, nam Magna promittunt dumtaxat. Vale Ex Londino xviij. die Decembris. Obser^mus R. D. T. Jo. COLET.

R^mo in X^o Patri et Dn'o D. Car^li.
Ebor. Dn'o meo colendissimo.
Hampton Corte.

LETTER LXXVI.

Extract of an imperfect Letter from Sir John Stile to King Hen. VIII. from Valladolid, 11 Feb. 1518.

[MS. COTTON. VESPAS. C. I. fol. 126. *Orig.*]

* * * * *

ALSO and it please your Grace here is master George the Almayne, gonner, which was in your royal service in your werres of Tiroan and Tourney, and he is holden here for oon of the connyngst men of the worlde concerning his science of Gonner and diviser of artillarye and fotteresses; and I your subget and servant according to my dute as reason is to the best of my poore mynde your highnes'so being pleased and a . . . . . that your Grace is the most mygtiest prince of the worlde, and most drad, and

the pillor of Cristendome, I wold that your highnes had the connyngest men in your royal service that coude be founde in any parties; for as your highnes best knoweth oon connyng man is worthe many other, for the whiche and it please your grace I have had nowe of late comunicacion with the said master George gonner, and for the slak payments of wages that is alwais here, he wol not in no wise serve any lenger here, and he is right wel mynded for to be again in your most royal service. And also a son in lawe of his a Spanyard born, whicht is a good artiller and also conyng in orgons and diverse instrumentes of musike; and in case your highnes shal please for to take the said Mr George and his son in lawe into your royal service, and your highnes geving to the said master George for himself a noble by the day during his life, and twenty pence sterling by the day to his said son in lawe, they therin knowing the pleasure of your Grace wol repaire to your royal presence, and wil bring their wives and children with them into your Realme of Englande, notwithstanding that they have land and housing in these parties and do dwel in the toun of Medyna de Roy-secko where as the almyrant of Casti[le] dwelleth and there is holden two fayres in the yere, to the whiche some of your subgettes of London do repaire. And it please your Grace the said master George desireth for to have the knowlege of the pleasur of

your highnes in that behalf by the fifteenth day of the month of may next comyng, for otherwise he wol go to serve the King of Portugale, who by his letter whiche, and it please your Grace, gretely desireth the said master George for to come to hym.

* * * * *

LETTER LXXVII.

Richard Pace to Cardinal Wolsey. The King has ordered Letters to be written to the Bishop of London, for Pace to be preferred to the Archdeaconry of Colchester.

[STAT. PAP. OFF. WOLSEY'S CORRESP. ix. 68.*Orig.*]

PLEAS itt your Grace when the Kyngis Highness hadde harde me saye that your Grace was so diseasydde wyth the Murre that ye couith not holde uppe your hedde his Grace answerydde formally thiese wurdis folowynge. viz: 'Alas, I am sory therfore, and I wolde be gladde to see hym,' whyche I sayde schulde be assone as your Grace myght go owte off your dores.

My Lorde Marquys made thys daye sute unto the Kynges Grace for to obteigne hys lettres to my Lorde off London for the preferment of hys broder to the Archdiaconry off Colchestre, and the Kynge askydde hym the value theroff, and he answerydde that itt was wurth yerly an C. marks: then the

Kyngis grace sayde (as he hym selfe reporteth) that itt wad more meate for hys[a] Secretary, than for hys brodre; and that he wolde wryte for me therin: and immediatly comaundyde Mr More to provide that hys lettres myght be wretyn and sent to my sayde Lorde off London, wythowte ony my intercession or knowliedge; wheroff I thoght itt convenient to certifie your Grace, and most humbly to desyre the same to be my goodde Lorde therin. And thus Jesu preserve your Grace in longe helth and continuall prosperitie. Wretyn at Grenwiche thys xiij off Fe. By your Graces most humble and faythfull servant RI. PACE.

To my Lorde Legats Grace.

LETTER LXXVIII.

Richard Pace to my Lord Legate. His interview with the King at Penshurst, whom he found playing with the French hostages. The King's intention to remove to Otford.

[IBID. ix. 12. *Orig.*]

*** In the 10th and 11th of Henry the Eighth certain hostages were left in England for the payment of the sums of money agreed upon for the delivery of Tournay to the French; "whose names," says Hall, "were Mounsire Memorancy, Mounsire Monpesart, Mounsire Moy, Mounsire Morret. Of the which four, the two first named were of noble blood; but the two last were but of meane houses.

[a] The King's.

And because they were young, there was auncient gentlemen apoynted governors to them."

Several passages in Hall show how they "daily resorted to the courte, and had great cheer, and wer well entertained; and, every time they moved, they stirred and required the King to passe the sea, and to mete with the French King their master."

The Queen entertained them at Havering at Bower; and the King seems to have taken more than common pleasure in their Society. They have been already mentioned in the second Series of these Letters, vol. i. p. 178. Compare Hall, edit. 1548. foll. 65 b. 68 b. 69 b.

Pleas itt your Grace the Kyngis Highness at myne arrivall hydre yistirdaye was playynge wyth the Hostagis. Assone as he hadde endydde hys playe hys Grace admittidde me to audience and acceptidde me lovyngly, and harde me at large declarynge unto hym all the busynesse off the late election off the Kynge off Romaynes, whyche declaration I orderydde precisely accordynge to suche communication as was hadde betwixte your Grace and me at my departure from you. And when the Kyngis Highnesse hadde well percevidde and ponderydde the grete chiarges and profusion off mony exspent bi the sayde Kynge off Romaynes for the obtent off that dignitie, his Grace dydde highly wundre therat, and sayde that he was right gladde that he obteignydde nott the same, and callidde unto hym the Duke off Southfolke and schewede the same unto hym.

His Grace was singularly well contentidde to here howe honorably I was recevidde in Almayne, and callidde the Duke of Bukkyngham to here that.

As touchynge the Popis holynesse, I schewede unto hys Grace that off iij. hys orators ij. undoubtedly were corruptidde bi the Frenche Kyng, expressynge the reasons and evident causis whye. Wherunto his Grace sayde thies wurdis formally interragotive, "Bi the masse!" Yeuynge firme credence unto the same: so that I trust verrayly that all that matier schalbe layede unto the sayde orators, and not to the Pope.

Aftre thys communication, his Grace sportidde wyth me meryly off my joirneye in most lovynge and familiare maner, and that doon, went to sopar, and spake off me many better wurdis than I have or can deserve. Other thynge have I none to advertise your Grace off, but that the Duke of Bukkyngham makyth unto the Kynge here excellent chere. Thys nyght the Kynge schall lye at Otforde. Your Grace shall receve wyth theise My Lorde Stewardis byll signydde. And thus Jesu preserve your Grace in longe helth and continuall prosperitie. Wretyn at Penshurste thys xi. off Auguste. By your Graces most humble and faythfull servant

RI. PACE.

To my Lorde Legats Grace.

LETTER LXXIX.

Richard Pace to my Lord Legate. The Hostages conveyed to Sir Thomas Lovels house at Enfield.

[IBID. ix. 52.]

*** Sir Thomas Lovel was treasurer of the King's household. He received his knighthood in 1487, at the battle of Stoke; became K. G., and afterwards one of the executors of Henry the Seventh's will: and was in great favour with Henry the Eighth. Upon the death of Edmund Lord Roos of Hamlake without issue, in 1508, the manor of Worcesters in the parish of Enfield came to him in right of Isabel, his wife, that nobleman's sister and coheir. Enfield, in consequence, became the favourite residence of Sir Thomas Lovel, and he died there May 25th, 1524. He was buried in a degree of splendour almost royal, in the priory of Haliwell in Shoreditch, within a chapel, beneath a white marble tomb, both of which he had himself prepared. Blomfield, in his History of Norfolk, says the following lines were inscribed upon a wall of the Priory House:

"All ye nunns of Haliwell,
Pray ye both day and night
For the soul of Sir Thomas Lobel,
Whom Harry the Seventh made Knight."

PLEAS itt your Grace Thys is to advertise the same that the Frenche Hostagis are conveyede by the Kyngis comaundment to Enfylde to Sir Thomas Lovell, he beynge well contentidde therwyth. And your Graces wrytynge to the Kynge touchynge the suer kepynge off the sayde hostagis came in tyme, ffor they hadde aboute the same season sent for Whytynge, and desyridde hym to prepare for them an other house at S. Kateryns, allegynge that oon off their servants laye syke in the house they hadde

off the plage. The sayde Whytynge made unto them answere that S. Kateryns was no meate place for them to dwell in. And he also causydde cerche to be made by a Physitian whider the sayde servante were syke off the sayd plage or nott. And itt was founde that he hadde no such syknesse. And the Kynge havynge knowliege off thys there suspiciose dealynge, causydde them to be conveyede by Sir John Dauncy to the house affore namydde under the color off eschewynge off the greate syknesse, by themselves devisydde. And thus theye be there, wythoute suspicion, well and honorably interteignydde, and secure espiall is layde in places meate for there suer kepynge. And thus Jesu preserve your Grace. Wretyn at Gylforde thys xxviij off Aug. By your Graces most humble and faythfull servant

RI. PACE.

To my Lorde Legats Grace.

LETTER LXXX.

Richard Pace to Wolsey. The King has received Letters from my Lady Margaret. Dean Colet "in extremis."

[IBID. ix. 66. *Orig.*]

PLEAS itt your Grace M. Hesdyn desirydde me thys daye to advertise your Grace that he haith recevidde lettres from my Lady Margarete conteygnynge that the French Kynge makyth extreme labor

that the Kynge off Romaynes schuldè passe bi hys realme in to Almayne, and offrith for the suertie off hys parson to yeve hostagis the Qwean hys wyffe and all hys chyldren. And the sayde M. Hesdyn thynkyth that itt is necessari for thys respecte, that the bushoppe of Elua, arrividde nowe at Grauishende, be well enterteignydde here at hys furst cum̄ynge, to thintent he schall have none occasion to wryte othrewys than well.

Mr. Dean off Paulis haith lyen continually synst Thursdaye *in extremis* and is not yitt dedde.[a]

Thus Jesu preserve your Grace in long helthe and continuall prosperitie. Wretyn at London thys xj off Septem. By your Graces most humble and faythfull servand RI: PACE.

To my Lorde Legats Grace.

LETTER LXXXI.

Pace to Wolsey. The King hath good pastime by the new player on the Clavicordes.

[IBID. ix. art. 60. *Orig.*]

PLEAS itt your Grace in a Pacquett off Lettres directidde to my selfe owte off Itali and comyn to my handis thys mornynge, I founde ij. Lettres directidde to your Grace, whyche I sende unto the same herwyth.

[a] He died of the sweating sickness, Sept. 16, 1519.

The Kynge haith nowe goode passe tyme bi the newe player uppon the Clavicordes[b] that M. Roch potte haith broght wyth hym (whoo playith excellently) and like wyse bi the gentilman off Almayne whoo was wyth hys Grace at Wudstoke, and haith nowe broght hydre a newe goodde and goodly instrument, and playeth ryght well uppon the same. *Finem faciam in instrumentis Musicis, quia aliud nihil scribendum in presentia habeo.* And thus Jesu preserve your Grace in longe helth and continuall prosperitie. Wretyn at Wyndesore thys iiij off Octo. By your Graces most humble and faythfull servant

RI: PACE.

To my Lord Legate's Grace.

LETTER LXXXII.

The Duke of Suffolk to Cardinal Wolsey, in favor of the Abbot of St. Benet of Hulme.

[IBID. vol. xi. pt. i. fol. 232. *Orig.*]

*** The Abbot of St. Benet of Hulme, to whom this Letter relates, must have been JOHN REDINGE, who was made abbot in 1510. He occurs in 1518, and again in 1522. We have no mention of his deprivation: so that it seems more than probable that he was not deprived. His successor was William Reppes, alias Rugge, D.D., who received the temporalities of the Monastery July 14th, 1530. Six years after which, being promoted to the See of Norwich by virtue of a private act of parliament, he parted with the lands of his bishoprick to the King, in exchange for the revenues belonging to the Abbey of Hulme and the Priory of Hickling.

[b] See the Second Series of these Letters, vol. i. p. 272; and the Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York, Index and Notes, p. 187.

My very good Lord in my most hartiest maner I recommend me vnto yor good lordship, and where as I did lately asserteyn you by my lettres of the pryvacion of the Abbot of Saynt Benetts of his Monastery, to whom I requyred yor lordship to be good lord, wherin as yet I had noon answer of your pleaser: and as nowe I vnderstond he hath a comaundment from the Kings Grace his fownder not to entremedle any further in the same Monastery. My lord, I assure you I have herd a grete parte of the moost worshipfull gentilmen and othre many substancyall persons of those parties which of all lyklyhod shulde haue knowlege or at the leste here of some Infamy of suche crymys and excessys as hath bien objected agaynst him by his ordynary, but veryly as I am enformed he may haue all the worshipfull of the Cuntre to depose of his Innocency for him in that mater. And as for dilapidacion, I vnderstond the house was endetted at the tyme of his stallacion in grete somes of mony, wherof he hath paid a grete parte, and now not in so grete daunjier as it was whan he cam therunto, notwithstanding the dymes and other importune charges which have been paid in hys tyme. Wherfor my lord, and forasmoch as the said Abbot hath promysed me to be ordred in euery thing as yor lordship woll haue him, I hertely requyre you the rather to be good lord vnto him, whom I haue found alwais kynd

and loving towards the Quene and me in thies parties. Wherein, my lord, I assure you, in my mynd ye shall do a gracious dede, and bynd him to pray for you his lyf enduring. And thus our Lord haue you my very good lord in his blessid tuycion. Ffrom Norwich the vij day of January

by yovres assurd

CHARLYS SUFFOLKE.

To my Lorde Cardinall.

LETTER LXXXIII.

The Earl of Worcester to Cardinal Wolsey, respecting a proposed enterprise against Richard De la Pole.

[MS. COTTON. BRIT. MUS. CALIG. D. VII. fol. 33. *Orig.*]

*** From the moment that Henry the Eighth had executed the Earl of Suffolk, he spared no pains to get Richard de la Pole into his power. De la Pole had entered the service of Louis the Twelfth, and, the French historians assure us, took part in the battle of Guinegate against the English. According to Du Bellay he had the command of six thousand Lansquenets.[a]

Previous to this, however, Henry's desire to obtain the surrender of him was well known. The Cottonian MS. Calig. B. VI. preserves a Letter from Lord Thomas Dacre to King Henry, dated Carlisle July 20, 1512, in which he acquaints the King that James the Fourth was desirous of peace, and had written to him to that effect, "Amonge which I perceyve," he says, "by his seid writing to me send, that if he may knowe it wer your mynde and pleasor that further laubor be by hym made, he wold send up the Bishop of Murray to your Grace, and soo further as well to the Frenshe Kyng, for the delyvére of Richarde de la Pole your rebel and traitor, as to laubor the Popes holinesse and the Frenshe King with other Princes for oon universall peace."[b] It is followed by another Let-

[a] Du Bellay, Memoires, fol. Par. 1588, p. 6. A.D. MDXII.

[b] Cott. MS. Calig. B. VI. fol. 32.

ter from James the Fourth himself to Henry, dated Edinburgh Aug. 18, 1512, making the same offer of interference to obtain Richard de la Pole.[c]

When peace was made with France, and the treaty of marriage was set on foot between Henry's sister and Louis the Twelfth, he endeavoured again to negotiate for the delivery up of Richard de la Pole.

Daniel says, "Il y eut trois points difficiles à régler, pour parvenir à la conclusion du Traité : le premier étoit, que le roi d'Angleterre demandoit qu'on lui donnât la ville de Bologne ; le second, qu'il demeurât en possession de Tournai ; le troisieme, que le Roi lui livrât Richard de Suffolk. Le roi d'Angleterre se relâcha sur le premier point, et le roi de France sur le second : mais il ne voulut jamais consentir à mettre Richard de Suffolk entre les mains du roi d'Angleterre. Cet article fut terminé par un tempérament, qui fut que Richard ne demeureroit point en France, et qu'il se retireroit à Metz, où le roi lui assigna une pension annuelle de six mille livres."[d]

There is a Letter in the State Paper Office addressed, apparently about 1514 or 1515, in a foreign hand, directed "Tot de Koning's gracie," seeming to have been forwarded by Spinelly, which says, "Invictissime Rex ille Hans Nagell et Claus Pacher adhuc non fuerunt apud Ritzhardum de la Puell. Ipse Richardus scripsit eis quod manerent in loco ubi sunt. Et ipse Ritzhardus non manebit in Lotharingio. Et quam scito mutat locum suum vult eis mandare ut venient ad eum. Et ego videbo quid sit ad faciendum." The writer further adds, "Item vestra Majestas nichil facit in Curia vestra quin Ritzhardus inmediate scit. Hoc verissimum est." The letter finishes, "Ego rogo quod Majestas vestra vult considerare paupertatem meam. Ego dimisi unum Manicordium cum pedale in Grintwitz :[e] et nisi vestram Majestatem dredecim Cromhornes, pro talia, non sum recompensatus, sed spero."[f]

The Cottonian MS. Galba B. IV. contains a host of Letters from Spinelly ; some to the King, but more to Wolsey, detailing his Intelligences. Most of these Letters were more or less injured in the Cottonian fire, which will account for the occasional hiatuses in the following extracts :

"As thowchyng Alamyre, he hayeth been not at home, but now

[c] Ibid fol. 34.
[d] Daniel, Histoire de France, ed. Par. 1755, 4to. tom. viii. p. 652.
[e] Greenwich.
[f] Misc. Corresp. 3 *Ser.* vi. 66.

I suppose he is retourned, and to that intente thise afternoon going to the Corte I shall passe by Meklyn and cause hym to come incontynently to the King. Also I have pourveyd a trusti and wise felow, servante of the Posts to go to Messe[g] and inquyre as further as he . . . of Rychard de la Poola proceeding. And by all other suche ways as I shall thinke most convenyent, and to do more service unto the King, I wol not faylle to wse my best diligence. Et bene vale D. vestra R^ma^ cui me semper humyllime commendo. Ex Andwompia die xxvii May, M.D.XV."[h]

To the King's Grace, partly in cypher, but decyphered:

"Hans Nagle is here tering[i] for an answer from your Highnes, and having his pardon and a letter of reterne, with convenient waggers. He is content to make thi . . . unto your Hyghnes, and go to Richard de la Pole and retorne to ward your Grace with all dyligence, at the whyche tyme he shall showe unto the same meny secrets and materes of gret importance. Wherfor I humbly beseche your Hyghnes to knowe your pleaser therin. Other Newes I have non writt. At Bruxells the xiiij day of Februari," A.D. 1516.[k]

Then comes a Letter to the King of somewhat extraordinary character. "The Lord Yanlys and President of Paris haythe here publyshed *that in Champany is taken an Englyshman whyche by your Highnes was sent to kyld Rychard de la Poola with the help of the Herle of Cyestem, and as the Archyducesse, goying Mr. Knyght to take leve of her, shewyd unto us. They have also* THE COPY OF HIS CONFESSION, wherof your frendes and servants here be sorey."—"Written at Bruxelles xxiij. day of February."[j]

To Wolsey, June 23, 1516, he says, "Please it your Grace to understand that I send unto the same herein closed a Memory contening suche newes as a servant of the Master of the posts who at my request and desyre went to Messz in Lorraine hath browght to me, with the whiche I have at good lengte devysed and demanded if it were possyble to intercepte the Lettres cominge out of France to Rychard de la Poola, wherapon he answered me that it wolbe difficyle. Howbeit in case he shulde be wel rewarded for his service, and his costs payed befor hand he wolgo and lay at Mettz xv or xx^ti^ days tyl he myght spye soom of thoose going to and fro, not doubting that knowen, to pourvey for accordingly. For he is baylly of a vyllage in Luxemborg not distant a day an half frome Mettz,

[g] Metz. [h] Galba, B. IV. fol. 66. to Wolsey. [i] tarrying.
[k] Galba, B. IV. fol. 48. [j] Ibid. fol. 23.

and haythe meny frendis myte for suche besynes. Wherfor if the King's hyghnes haythe any mynde to it, his plesir knowen I shal do the best I can therin.

"Alamyre departed the xix day of this monnethe to ward the kynge, and shall at his fyrst arryval resorte unto your Grace, for to have his further dyrection, the whiche moust be don secretely by reson of the acquayntance he haythe with the Kings menxtrells and the felows of Hans Nagle. His hyghnes and your Grace may hyere him speke and thake suche resowlucion in the materre as be thowght best, and I for my parte in all things concerning the Kings service wolde allweys my dewty * * * * * * * * * Jakes Hesbek, servant to the Mr of the posts . . . Luxemborg at his retourne frome Metz in Lorayne.

"Ffyrst he saythe that upon x dais passed he departed frome [Metz], where he hade taryed six days and bowght win, in the which season he saw Rychard de la Poola going to the Churche with a verray poere vysayge and contenance, accompaned wyth semyng gentylmen and fowre otheres.

"Item he saythe that he was loggyd in a loging nygh to him and . . . spokynne that the sayd Rychard shulde remove frome his howse into an othere belonging unto Messyre Delamare.

"Item that within trye days after his arrival to Metz there ar . . . . in his own logging a poste coming frome the Frenche Corte, and sent immedyately for the secretary of the sayd Rychard delyvering him a paket of lettres

"Item the poste shewed, being at dysner, that the Frenchemenn hade takinne Bresse and went to besiege Veronne.

"Item Jakes fyndeth occasion and colour to be aquentyd with the sayde poste, and devysing togydre of the Emperor and [with those] of Ytaly as he thowght best. The poste seyd that the King of Ingland monney haythe made the warre unto the Frenche King, of the whiche he wolbe quyckly revenged, and following in comunycacions of Rychard de la Poole the poste shewyd that the sayd Frenche King by reason of the besynesse of Ytaly cowde not as yet helpe him to cume to his righte, but that at fyrst good season of the next yer he is minted to do it. And the second day after, the poste coming to Metz, he was despeched and retourned into France.

"Item Jakes saythe that the day Rychard de la Poola receyved his lettres oute of France, that he went unto the town howse there and

was in communycacions with the gowerneurs. Apon what materre he cannot tell.

"Item by cause comonnely the inhabytans of Metz been Borgognons, and that they see him to be intertenned and favored by the Frenche King and all his frendis there, many saythe that oone day they shall sowffre therby.

"Item that being Yakes with oone borne in Luxemborg of his aqueintance, the whiche serveth here to fore Rychard de la Poola, they mete with soom of his howse, and talkyng togydre Jakes hyerd like wordis as the poste shewyd towching the French King mynde to warde the sayd Rychard, and how of late he hade receyved trye towsand crownys of golde oute of France.

"Item that the sayd Richard haythe with him xvij or xviij personnes.

"Item that dayly he maketh banketts unto the prinsypals of the town.

"Item that his serventz sowght to bye smalz horsis.

"Item that haythe contynualy soom body going to and fro.

"All the premyssis I have caused Yakes to reherse in the presence of the M^r^ of the Rollys, who taketh him for a discrete man of his degrey. At Bruxells the xxiij^th^ day of Yune

by me THOMAS SPINNELLY."

* * * * * *

"Sens the servant of the M^r^ of the Posts that went to Metz hath ben with me offring to intercepte the lettres that cumme from the French King unto Rychard de la Poole, upon a condicion that he shall have in handes C. gowldin gyldins, and CC. when he delyuere the sayd lettres to me. If the King mi Master is pleasid with the bargeyne, upon knowlage therof I shall agrey with the said Yekes

"Your humble servant

THOMMAS SPINNELLY."

Spinelly to Wolsey 5 July 1516. COTT. MS. Galba B. IV. fol. 96.

"Yesterday Hans Nagle shewyd me that John Dyrike van Ret broder gyueth him knowlege that Rychard de la Poola is gon in to France again. Wherfor I haue caused the servant of the M^r^ of the Posts dwelling in . . . . . in Lorryne and bryng to me the certeynte therof.

"Also the sayd Hans saythe that Sir Georgy Nevel is desyred to go to France and by reason of his poerte, and that he can not opteyn his pardon frome the King, he wol go shortly.

"The Lord Berghes a pon foure monnethes passed, shewyd me that a servant of the Lady Margeryte of Ingland desyred him instantly to be favorable unto the sayd Sir Georgy Nevel, towarde the King that he myght have his pardon saing to me it wer wel done.

Spinelly to Wolsey 4 Aug. 1516. Bruxellis, ib. fol. 131 b.

"I understand of a seurty that Rychard de la Poola haythe been at a place of Messrs. Robert de lamarcha, and retourned to Metz, and not gon into Frans as was spokynne.

Again 4 Oct. 1516. Brux. ib. fol. 181 b. "Alamyre[m] is retourned frome Mettz as your Grace shal parceyve by his Lettres herin clowsed. He hath borowed of me x. gowldin gyldyns and xxx[ti] I have payed to the servant of the M[r] of the Posts, for his last voyage. If the Kings pleaser is that I shulde intende to such materres, his Hyghnes must send me money and by that manere Alamyre shalgo into France. Bruxelles the iiij[th] day of October M.D.XVI."

* The Cottonian Manuscript Calig. D. VI. fol. 344, contains what is entitled in the Catalogue "Depositions of some Emissary concerning the French King's motions." This paper is imperfect and much burnt at the edges. The second paragraph relates to Richard de la Pole. "Item he saithe that immediatlie aftur that the French Kyng was retornyde from Italy unto Lyons he sent for Richarde de la Pool then being in the Citie of Macia in Florens,[n] and as they boith wer ridyng upon the said Richards Mooll (the King bihynd the said Richard) the Kyng saide thies wordes unto hym. 'I knowe that the King of Englond is my vtter enyme, intending to distroy and depryve me from my state in Italy, sending his right gret somes of money to the . . . and reteignyng the Scottes in his aide for that intent. Wh . . . . glad I wold be to serve hym with like favors. And by cause I know your title to be goode to the crowne of Englonde I shall . . . . but shortlie indevor me to make some peax with the said E . . . . stablishe my materis theare. And that doon I shall assiste you boith with men and money, for obteignyng . . . said right, and shall not forsake you in that bihalf w[hile I have] oon crown to exspende. In the mean tyme m . . . . and have pacience.' He saith also that Marques . . . . desiride the ffransh King with marvalus gret infl . . . . wolde graunt vnto the saide Richarde his favors and . . . promysses whiche Richarde the

[m] The same volume, fol. 182, contains a Latin letter of some length from this Alamyre to Wolsey, in which he states himself to have passed no fewer than nine days in Richard de la Pole's company. [n] Metz in Lorraine?

said Marques . . . . cosyn. And the said King promyside vnto hym . . wolde soo doo.

"He saith also that itt is determynyde by the . . . . . foure parsons shalbe sentt secretlie into England . . . . . fyre by crafty and cautelous meanes within the . . . his grace shalbe abiding, to thextent (which God . . . . . distroy his most noble person, and all odr ther beinge . . . the said persons for this their execrable factt shuld . . . of the said Ric. foure thousande frankes. *Interrogatus conatus faciendi et interponendi.* He saith when the . . . . more shorter. And the primysses he saith that he knowyth . . . that is moste secret about the saide Richarde and the Kings trew and faithfull lover, who hath promysed fro . . to advertise his Grace by som means and specially this she . . . secret intencons of the said Ric. ayansthe his said Grace."

Whatever might be Richard de la Pole's intentions, those of Henry's emissaries were not far behind, as the Earl of Worcester's Letter, which follows, will shew.

Mr., afterwards Sir John, subsequently Lord Russell, was, at the time of the writing of this Letter the deputy-governor of Tournay. He journeyed with a M. Thubianville to Lorraine to receive the proposition of a Scheme for taking De la Pole, alive or dead; a scheme which probably could not have been kept secret had it been plotted within the walls of the city.

Myne especiall gode Lorde in my most humble wise I recomaund me unto your Lordship. This day is Tybanville and Russell come home, and have ben in Lorayne at Saint Nicholas wiche is iijC. English myles out of this towne as they saie, wher the gentilman that shuld do the entreprise mett with them, and from thens is gone to his owen hows in Burgoyne nigh one honderd myles biyond, wher he woll tarye till he have aunswer of that he hathe shewid to them soo that he may have it within this moneth. Of his mynde, and howe he will take this

entreprise, and what he askythe for to do yt, also what suerties he desireth, I send yo^{r} lordship heryn inclosid as the said Tybanville and Russell have delyuerid me, wrettyn in Frenche signed with ther hands; and otherwise[o] he wolnot medle withall as they saie. And if this man doo yt not, I knowe nor here of noon other that wol take it uppon hym. Also of suche newes as they herd of Rcherd de lapole by the waye, they have wrettyn in the said bill. If the Kings Grace will have the mater to be in hande according to the said gentilmannes offre and desire, if I may shortely knowe his plesur by his gracious letters or yours, to my power I woll endevor me to accomplisshe his noble comaundment, with the helpe of God, whom I dailly pray to have you my moost especiall gode lord in his blissid keping. Wretten at Tournay the xvjth daie of Novembr̃.

Assuredly y^{ors} to

C. WORC . . . . .

*** The Papers referred to in this Letter precede it in the arrangement of the Cottonian volume. They form, in truth, but one document in three divisions, each signed "P. Thubianville" and "John Russell"; the whole, however, was too much injured in the Cottonian fire to be made out now in entierty, although the propositions of reward, and the general sense of the whole are sufficiently clear.[o]

[o] The best transcript of this triple document which could be made, is here given:

1. Memore au cappitainne Thibianville et au cappitainne Russel de remonstrer l'estat que je Percheual de Matte gentil homme de la Conte de Bourgonne voieul auoir pour entreprendre l'entreprinsse entre nous pourparlee et deuisee.

Primmerement je desire auoir deux cens escus d'or de pension, et seurete diceulx,

The first division is the bargain for recompense. A "Memorandum to Captain Thubiamville and to Captain Russell to shew the condition which Perceval de Matte, gentleman to the Count of Burgundy, will have for undertaking the enterprize afore spoken of and devised between us." Before any other consideration, M. Perceval de Matte

dedens la Ville de Cales durant ma vie se [je] prens lafaire et quelle fut decelle, et que pariceste lafaire ne venist a effect; afin que puisse vivere et que ne demoure pas sans mises.

En oultre pour ce que lafaire est pesant et ne le puis entreprendre seul, je demande quatre compaignons, pour vng ceschun cinq^te escus d'or par an de pension; le cas avenant comme desus est dite.

Le cas avenant que l'entrepreinsse venist a bon effect; que espere fera; je demande pour vng gentil homme qui me donnera avis secrete, et pour moy, pour vng ceschun de nous, quatre cens escus de pension par an, nostre vie durant, sus la Ville desus nome; et bonne seurete diceulx.

Item pour les despens que il me faut pour faire la poursuite de ceste afaire, je demande trois mille escus d'or pour vnne fois.

Et afin que ne blesse mon honneur, ne vocus pas entreprendre laditte entreprinse que ne soie asseure des choses desus dites, et me soie declare serviteur du Roy vostre maistre, et quitte mon serment que jay a present aux Signeurs de Mes. Quant le cas aviendra il faut que furnissies argent pour entretenir les compaignons et moy en poursuivant cest afaire; les quels deniers seront rabatu des desusd it trois mille escus.

P. THUBIANVILLE.
JOHN RUSSELL.

2. Et pour donner a cognoistre . . . . . le Emprinse et comment je le voieul . . . . . elle ensuyt.

Primierement il me faut espier l'eure que Richart de la Pol [va] aulx champs, soit pour cour les lieveres ou voir ses cheuaulx . . . . . champs: Quant ledit Richart va aulx champs souvent, vont un ou deulx des signeurs de Mes avecq ledit Richart; avecq che il . . . ses serviteurs avecq luy, qui sont six ou vuyt; pour quoy il faut que aye quelques pietons sans les cheuaucurs que je mene avecq moy, et que les mette en vng lieu secret, a fin destre plus seur de mon entreprinse. A cause que cest forte paus, et ne prends nuls que tels en quoy ay parfaite fianche. Et se ce nest quil face que biau jour diver il nest possible de sytos achever l'entreprinse, a cause que le d^t Richart ne va point aux champs se il ne fet pas bian temps ou gele: pour quoy ne me voieul point hater se je ne vois bien mon eure et quant a la mener come desire. La chose est bien pesante, mais je meteray paine a se faire plus hardiement, a cause que le cappitainne des saudars de cheval de la dite ville est de ceste mon entreprinse. Car quant le bruit sera en la dite ville les signeurs luy commanderont de aler apres les entreprendeurs; mais nous nous entenderons ensamble, et ne sieuvera point le train de ceulx quy meneront ledit de la Poulle. Et se je serais perforet et que ne le puise amener a mon aise vif, je su . . . fivere en fere la fin: et que la main forte men demoura, de . . . le tout il seroit trop long, je men voy en Bourgoinne pour auoir ceulx en quy je me fie pour acheuer ceste entreprise: et ne le prenderay point que ne soie au roy vostre mestre, et que naye serment quittie desdits de Mes che que aray bien.

Item sur ce nous Thibauville et Russel luy auons promis, deux mois ou six sepmainnes du jour que partimes de luy que il a vescu en Bourgoinne de la bonne volente de mon dit signeur le Chambrelencq: oultre plus a falut luy prommettre.

. . . . . [p]

[p] Here the upper parts of the signatures of Thubianville and Russell are still visible.

desires to provide for himself, should his enterprise fail: in the event of which he demands to have two hundred crowns a year [9] assigned to him as a pension for life; security for the payment of the same; and an asylum in the town of Calais. The next demand is for certain associates. The affair was one of weight, and he could not execute it alone. He requires four companions, and should the plot fail in success, each of them to have a pension of fifty crowns a year, with like security, and the same asylum as for himself. The third demand is in the event of a successful issue to the enterprise. He then requires a pension of four hundred crowns a year for himself, and four hundred more for a gentleman who was to give him secret aid. The last demand of all is for the discharge of expenses in preparing for the enterprise, for which he requires three thousand crowns of gold immediately in hand.

The second division details the manner in which the Plot was

3. . . . . fette saellee et signee de . . . . . des seaulx de mondit signeur le Chambrelencq avecq ceulx de . . . de Ponignes; luy promметant que le fet mis a execusion nous baillerons en leurs mains lesdis saeles et non deuant; mais il voeult pariellement avoir nostre signe et saelle de nous et . . deliverer ladite chose acheuee, et leur aidier a poursuivir leur . . vers mesdis signeurs.

Pour nouvelles sur le chemin nous ariuames la nuit de l[a jour de] tousains a unne ville nommee le Pont a Mouson, laquelle est de Monsigneur de Loraine et est a quatre lieuues de Nansy, et sejornames le jour: dont chedit jour enuoia le grant commandeur de Sein Anthonne, lequel se tient audit lieu pour savoir quy nous estiemes. Et nostre hostesse luy dit que nous estiemes deux gentils hommes, et nous alions a Sainct Nicolay en pelcrinage. Et quant il eust oy la response il nous enuoia de son vin, et nous fit prier au souper a sa maison. Et alames le soir souper avecq luy; et lapres souper se commencoit a deviser de biaucoup de choses: entre autres nous commencha a dire quil y avoit ung Prinche Dengleterre a Mes de quoy il auoit grant pite; et quil luy auoit fet depuis trois mois vng bon service vers ung Conte Dalemayne; lequel voloit semoure de sa foy, disant que il auoit prommis au dit Conte que se il pouoit tant fere vers le roy de Franche, quil eust quelque entretenement dudit roy, quil luy prometoit luy en donner la motie. Le dit Conte vint vers le Ducq de Loraine et fit tant que le ducq luy fit son entree en Franche: dont, comme dit le Commandeur, a Richart de la Poulle trois escus d'or tous les ans du roy de Franche, et cincq cens du duc de Loraine: et dit ousy quil a quelque pension du Roy de Hongerie. Et de touttes ches pensions le Conte en voloit avoir la moitie, comme il maintenu que Richart luy auoit prommis. Et a ceste cause nosoit aler hors de la ville. Mais avant le partement du duc de Loraine il envoia ledit Commandeur, quy est prochain parent du duc et chief de tout le conseil de Loraine, vers le Conte et fit lapointement; et ne craint plus rien de lafaire du Conte, et oultre plus en faisoit vnne grosse estime. Et quant je l'eus oy parler, je luy demandy de quelle chose il pouvoit servir au roy ny a monsigneur de Loraine; il me dit que le roy l'entretenoit afin que se le roy D'engleterre voloit fere quelque enprinse en Francho il trouveroit des avis: et de telles parolles biaucoup. Et me dit que on . . . gardoit bien vng tel leuerier sept ans pour vnnes maulvaisses . . . negies. . . . . RUSSELL. P. THUBIA . . . . . .

[9] Escus d'or.

proposed to be carried into execution. The intention was to seize Richard de la Pole when he went into the field to hunt the hares or to see his horses: and as he usually had one or two of the chief persons of Metz, and seven or eight attendants with him, it would be necessary to post spies in concealment to observe him. Some delay, it is stated, might be occasioned by the weather, as De la Pole went into the fields only when it was fine or frosty. De Matte was to make the attempt at the first opportunity. The captain of the guard in the town was in concert with him, and should any alarm reach the authorities, and they ordered the captain to go after the perpetrators, he would set the pursuers on a wrong track. If I am unable to take him with ease, he adds, I will send for trusty agents from Burgundy to aid me to make an end of the matter by force.

The third division states that Russell and Thubianville promised De Matte the good will of the Chamberlain to let him live in Burgundy, and also letters of the Chamberlain, of the Sieur de Pouignes, and their own. Adding that as for news on their journey they stopped at Pont a Mousson, four leagues from Nancy, where the Grand Commander of the Hospital of St. Anthoine sent to enquire who they were. They sent word they were on a pilgrimage to St. Nicholas. He invited them to sup at his house; and after supper, among other things, he observed that there was an English Prince in those parts whom he greatly pitied, and to whom he had been of service. That he (Richard de la Pole) had obtained, by the interest of a certain Count of Germany, pensions from the King of France and the Duke of Lorraine, and also enjoyed another from the King of Hungary. But that the said Count claimed half of all these pensions, on the ground of a promise from De la Pole, for the use of his interest; and that he, the Commandant, had adjusted a disagreement between them on this account. He told them, too, on enquiry, that Richard de la Pole was entertained by the King of France and the Duke of Lorraine, that they might obtain from him early advertisement of any design on the part of the King of England of an invasion of France.

The pay proposed for this enterprise was so enormous, and the probability of its failure so evident, that there can be little doubt but that it was immediately abandoned. Richard de la Pole fell a few years after at the battle of Pavia, fighting for France; his death relieved Henry from fear, and was perhaps the only consolation afforded to him from a Victory which at once destroyed the proper balance of the States of Europe.

LETTER LXXXIV.

Edward Duke of Buckingham to Sir Edward Chamberleyn respecting the latter's claim to the Manor of Penshurst in Kent.

[MS. EGERTON. BRIT. MUS. 1049. fol. 1. *Orig.*]

*** The name of Chamberlain as connected with the manor of Penshurst by an intermarriage, in the time of Henry the Fourth, is incidentally mentioned by Hasted in his History of Kent, vol. i. p. 409; but no further clue is given to the claim on the part of Sir Edward Chamberlain, which is here acknowledged, but, as far as the editor can learn, is no where else alluded to.

RIGHT welbiloved we recommend us unto you. And touching youre clayme to the Manor of Penshurst, and other owre londes in Kent, to the which ye require to be restored as youre heritage, We do you to wite that according to owre promise made at Woodstock, we have caused youre hole tytle to be examyned by our Councell; by whos advise we ar content to allowe you a covenable recompence, which we do not somuch for doubte of youre title, as for that we sett more by a frende then enny profitt or comoditie. In regard wherof, we have appointed Sir Thomas Eude our Surveyor to comon with you both for recompence of your title, and also for the assurance to be made on either partie; to whom you may geve full credite in our behalve. From

our Manor of Thornebery the xvjth daye of October. E. BUKYNGHAM.

To our right welbeloued frynde Syr
Edwarde Chamberleyn Knight.

LETTER LXXXV.

The Duke of Buckingham to Cardinal Wolsey, entreating his interference with the King to allow him to be a Challenger, not an Answerer, at the Justs which the King had ordered to be held. His great reluctance to be compelled to run against the King's person.

[STAT. PAP. OFF. WOLSEY'S CORRESP. 1. 142. *Orig.*]

*** This Letter must have been written between 1516 and 1521. It was not till the first of these years that Wolsey was made a Cardinal, by which title he is addressed in its superscription. In May, 1521, the Duke of Buckingham was beheaded. The actual date, as will be seen from circumstances to be mentioned presently, may safely be placed in or about 1519. The Earl of Surrey mentioned in it was so created in 1514. He had married the Duke's daughter.

The fall of the Duke of Buckingham has been already noticed in the first Series of these volumes, as well as the circumstances of the Interview with Francis the First, which caused the last breach between Wolsey and the Duke. The earlier part of the Duke's career, particularly as bearing upon this Letter, is yet to be noticed.

His first appearance in arms was in 1497, when Henry the Seventh went out to meet the Cornish rebels.[a] He was then quite young. Dugdale says he received the livery of his lands in the following year.[b]

A manuscript in the College of Arms preserves the "Articles of Justes of Edward Duke of Buckingham at the marriage of Prince Arthur in 1501, "where he was chief chalenger, and Thomas Grey

[a] Polyd. Verg. p. 605. [b] Dugd. Bar. i. 170.

Marquess of Dorset, the defender.[c] He was present at the marriage of James the Fourth with Henry the Seventh's eldest daughter in 1503: and he carried the crown at the coronation of Henry the Eighth.[d]

In the three first years of Henry the Eighth we find him taking the lead as Lieutenant at the feasts of St. George:[e] and two years afterwards he accompanied the King to the siege of Therouenne. Hall, describing the habiliments of the noblemen who accompanied the King from Therouenne to meet Maximilian, says, "in especiall the Duke of Buckingham; he was in purple satin, his apparel and his harde full of antelopes and swans of fine gold bullion, marvellously costly and pleasant to behold."[f]

From 1512 to 1519 his name is not once noticed in the justs: indeed he says in the present letter, that "saving to fulfil His Grace's commandment, he had not been many a day minded to them." In 1519, however, on the 29th of May, both he and the Earl of Surrey assisted in keeping St. George's Feast at Windsor:[g] and though the present Letter speaks of the first of May, it is not improbable that the time might have been deferred, and that the present Letter may relate to these justs.

My especiall and singuler goode lorde, In my moste hartie wise I recommende me vnto youre good lordeship, and so thank you of youre grete kyndnes and lawfull ffavor at all tymes heretofore shewde vnto me in all my causes, praying you my lorde of youre goode and lovynge contynuaunce. And where I recevid yesterday, a letter from my lorde of Surrey, beryng date the xxvjth day of ffebruary, whereyn my seide Lorde of Surrey hath asserteyned me that the Kyngs grace intendith to have a Justes on May day next cumyng, and hymself with

[c] MS. in Coll. Arm. M. 3. fol. 24 b.
[d] Ibid. I. 7. fol. 23 b.
[e] Ibid. 1. M. 17. fol. 34.
[f] Hall, edit. 1548. Henry VIII. fol. 29.
[g] MS. Coll. Arm. 1. M. 17. ut supr. fol. 26.

alevyn such as his Grace hath chosyn as his scholers to be the Chalyngers, and wolde that of the noble men of his Realme there shulde be twelve Answerers; and that the Kyngs grace called hym vnto hym bifore many lordes and gentlemen, comaundyng hym to write vnto me to be oone of the same Answerers; sayinge that at my last beyng with his Grace I shulde promys hym to be redy whensoever it shalle please his Grace to comaunde me to ren; Whereunto my seide lord of Surrey, as I perceve by his letter, made answer that he was sure I wolde forber to do nothyng wherewith I shulde knowe his Grace to be content, howebeit he dowtid that I was not soo well trymmed as I wolde desir to be, and that he thought I wolde not for a thowsand pounds to ren, onlesse I were aswell trymmed as I have byn in tymes past. Whereunto the Kyngs Highness answerd that he dowtid not but that I wold be well i nough trymmed, by which letter my seide Lord of Surrey aduised me to make thereunto myne answer vnto the Kyngs grace after, as I founde my self trymmed, and disposid to ren. And forasmoche as I wolde be ryght loth to refuse to doo any thyng that shuld be at his pleasure that his Grace comaundith me to doo, for that I haue allwey found his Highnes so goode and gracious lorde vnto me, and specially nowe at my last beying with hym; and the rather through the ffavor of your goode Lordeship,

wher I offerd his Grace at my departyng, bifore you my Lorde, that I wolde be redy at all tymes to serue his Grace aswell byyonde the see as athisside, with as goode wille and herte as any subiecte or seruaunt withyn his Realme to my power; and bicause his Grace shulde thynk that I intend to performe my seide promys, I haue therfor written vnto his Highness and haue offerd myself to his Grace by the same to performe his pleasure, and soo to cum vp to London to prepare me thereunto, though the tyme be short, vppon answere had from his seide Highnes. Sithens it is his pleasor to haue me oone of them, which savyng to fulfyll his Graces comandement I haue not byn many a day mynded vnto, that it may please his Highnes to appoynt me as oone of his seide Scholers to ren on his parte, bicause it is longe tyme sith I exercised any fete therof, and specially for that in my mynde I haue avowed neuer to ren agayust his noble persone, if I may, ootherwise doynge, avoyd his displeasur. Wherfor my lorde though it bethe matter that I am lothe and darr not be bolde to troble you withall, yut I shall hartyly desire youre goode lordsship as my speciall trust ys in you that it may please you, my Lord, to take the payne at suche convenient leysir as ye may haue, sumwhat to move the Kyngs Grace that he woulbe contentid accordyng to my humble desire as ys aforeseid. And if his Grace in nowise woull chaunge

his mynde but that he woull haue me an Answerer yut that ye, my Lord, woull move his Grace that he compel me not to ren agaynst his owne persone, for I had leuer by his comaundement goo to Roome then soo to doo, Insomyche as and it were not to avoyde the displeass[r] of his seid Highnes I haue not myndid me thereunto many a day. As knoweth the hole Trinite Vho haue your good Lordship in his blessed gouernaunce. Writen at my Manor of Thornbury the ffyveth day of Marche.

Yorys to my power

E. BUKYNGHAM.

To my especiall and singler
goode Lorde my Lorde Cardinall.

*** The Duke of Buckingham resided principally at Thornbury Castle in Gloucestershire, whence both this and the preceding Letter are dated; and which he for the most part rebuilt in a style of feudal grandeur. Lysons, in his Gloucestershire Antiquities, fol. Lond. 1804. Plates lxxx. to lxxxv. has given accurate views both of the old and new buildings as they then stood. The gateway bears an inscription, with the date of 1511.

LETTER LXXXVI.

Archbishop Warham to the Duke of Buckingham; upon the latter deferring an intended Visit.

[STAT. PAP. OFF. MISC. CORRESP. 3 *Ser.* vi. 98. *Orig.*]

*** By the tenure of his castle and estate at Tunbridge in Kent, the Duke of Buckingham was bound to serve as high-steward and chief-butler at every inthronization-feast of an Archbishop of Canterbury. Of the princely manner in which the Duke performed these

offices at that of Archbishop Warham in 1507, a minute detail will be found in the Appendix to the sixth volume of Leland's Collectanea, the edition of 1770; which is worth the reader's referring to. The present Letter, however, shows that a friendly as well as an official connection existed between them.

There is something mysterious in this Letter. The Duke was evidently uneasy in mind, and anxious to disburthen it to Warham; who, from the official arrangements he had made in his diocese, was obliged to put off a proposed visit to a later appointment than the Duke had wished.

My singular good lorde in my mooste hertie wise I recōmende me to your good lordeship, ascertaynyng the same that I have receved your kynde and loving Lettres writen the secunde day of this instant moneth, by the which I perceve that by suche infortune that your lordeship writeth of, ye may not be at Otforde on tuesday next cōmyng, wherof I am right sory, and specially of suche infortune as shuld put your good lordeship to any bodily peyne or displeasir. And wher as your lordeship writeth that ye have differred this jorney til after Whitsontide for the cause afor said, My Lorde I wold be as glad as any man to see your good lordeship at my pouer lodging at Otforde at any tyme at your lordeshippes pleasir; but so it is that I have appoineted the next day after the Nativiti of Sancte of Baptiste next cōmyng to remove from hens to Maideston, for diuerse and many causes concernyng the reformation of the College ther, and also for other causes concernyng the reformation of certeyn religiouse places

within my diocese for whose apparence I have sent oute citations, which I can not conueniently revoke. Wherfor thies premisses considered, I hertily beseche your good lordeship that I may vndrestand your pleasir and mynde at what tyme it may please your lordeship to take the peyne to be at my pouer place at Otforde. My lorde I had leuyr lose v.C marke than the matier that is intended shuld take none effecte for diuerse and many considerations which wer to long to write. Almighti God knoweth best my mynde in this behalue which euer preserue your good lordeship. At Otforde the thirde day of Juny

Ev'y your owne

WILLM. CANTUAR.

To my lorde of Bukkingham is
good Lordeship.

*** The Cottonian Manuscript, Titus B. I. fol. 171, contains a Memorandum of Instructions for things which the Duke's chancellor was to do or to direct, dated 26th Nov. 12th Henry VIII. They are entirely in the Duke of Buckingham's own hand-writing, and have hitherto been passed by.

A document, in point of time, so close before his fall, and touching upon some of the events which caused that fall, deserves preservation. In several parts the Duke has made erasures and rewritten his orders. In others he has crossed over his directions. In the present transcript these have been given in italics, bracketted.

"Thornbury, xxvi^te^. die Novembris,
A°. xii. Henric' Octavi.

"Instrucc'ions yevene by the ryght-hygh and myghty prince Edward Duc off Bukyngham &c. to hys chaunceler Mayster Robert Cylbert as folouth.

"Ffyrst we woll that you deliver our letters of credence to my lord of Norffolk and to my lady hys wyfe, and to thank them in

our name of the grete kyndnes that they have ever shewd us, praying them of theyre contynuance, and that yt may lyke them ever to gyve you boldnes and other of our councele at all tymes to resorte to them to have theyre advyses in all our causes assurynge them we have as grete truste in them as eny chyld they have, and wol doo as moche to doo them pleasure as eny chyld they have acordynge to the promyse we made them at our beynge with them, where we had so grete and herty chere that we woll not put yt in oblivione: praynge them evere to be meane to furder us in all our causes and suets to the Kynges grace and my Lord Cardinall, and yf ther be eny thynge that they shal here that shal be agenst our honoure, or surty, that they woll advertyse theroff wyth theyre good advyses what is best for us to doo, trustynge that they shall have noo dishonour to aunsuere for us in our absence, and that they shall well see we shall foloe theyre adviseys.

"Item to make them privey of thaunswere we have made to my lord cardinall towchynge our jorney in to Walles.

"Item that ye call appone my lord of Suffolks councell for restorynge of our obligacione of fyfe hundred marks remaynynge wyth my sayd lord of Suffolk.

"Item we woll that ye cause to be made for the Kynges new yers gyfte a goblyt of gold[a] with a cover to drynk wyne inn of the beste fauccoune and contrary to the facconne of the cuppe of gold for ale, whyche we gave to hys grace the laste yere, and that the same goblyt be made wyth a wrytynge abowte yt accordynge to a copye of the same delyverd unto you, and that the same goblyt *be* wyth the faccoune and all be made to the valw of xxxvj^{li}. and that yt be made wyth the Kynges badgeys, [*And to order our servaunt John Borrell to present the same to hys hyghnes*] and thus order our trusty councelour John Scot to present the same to the Kynges hyghnes.

"Item that ye cause a powmander of gold to be made wyth the Kynge and the quenes badgeys for a new yers gyfte for the quene, and a chene of gold to hange the same powmander at her gyrdyll, so that the powmander and the chene wyth the facconne and all be of the value of x^{l}. [*And that Thomas Barnwell receyvour of our landes in Kent and Surrey present the same to her grace*] And that John Scot delyver the same to the Quenes grace.

"Item that ye cause to be made a cuppe of gold wyth a cover frale

[a] *In the Margin.* "Memorandum, for the word in frenshe in the Kynges new yers gyfte, '*wyth humble trw hert.*'"

wyth the worde[b] of the best and newest facconne wyth my lord Cardinalls badgeys, to the valew of xxx[li]. wyth the facconne and all for his newyers gyft [*and the same to be presented to hym by our trusty councelour John Scot and yf the same John Scot be seke or otherwyse letted that he kanne not present the same than*] we woll that Mayster Thomas Wylloghby present the same and yff John Scot be seke [*that he*] or otherwise letted that he kanne not present the sayd [*cup*] goblyt of gold to the Kyngs hyghnes and the powmaunder to the Quenes grace; than we woll that ye order the sayd Thomas Wylloghby to doo the same; and yf ye kanne not have hym to performe the premisses as ys afore sayd then we woll ye order [*John Borrèll*] Thomas Wylloghby to present the new yer gyfts to the Kyng and the quene and Thomas Barnwell to my lord Cardinal.

"Item that ye lerkynge who woll make the beste offer for our wode at Agmondeshame [*and*] forasmoche as we wol have wode sold there to the valw off a c[li]. [*and*] and above, alwey reservynge the fayre tymber to our owne use, and that ye have Thomas Bynks the carpentor of London to come thyther wyth you to helpe to dryve the moste to our proffyte.

"Item that ye delyver our letters of credence to my Lord Privey Seele, the Abbot off Westminster, and S[r] Thomas Lovell, and to desyre them to forbere theyre mony to crystemas comme twelvmonth; and yf the Abbot of Westmynster shall desyre further surtys, we woll that ye promyse hym to fynde hym more suerty in the bygynnynge of the next terme; and at that tyme we woll ye desyre our custumers ther to be bound to hym yf he sholl than so desyre.

"Item that ye knaw of my lord Barnnes or in hys absence of Umptone how moche of the xii C. xx[li]. ys unpeyde, for as moche as yt ys vj. yers paste and more syns the Indenture was made.

"Item that ye make payment to Robert Amadas for the potts made for crystynynge of my lord of Aburgavvenyse chyld, and to brynge the same wyth you, and that ye boroo of the same Amadas for us agenste crystenmas basyns vi., and ewers vi., potts iij. payre, standynge cuppes vi., and goblytts vi.

"Item that ye cause our brode Seale to be new made, for the Antilops in our brode seale shuld have the cronetts abowt theyre nekks, and a chene hangynge by the same, and a rynge atte ende atte same chene.[c]

[b] *In the margin*, "The worde in Frensh on the cup of gold '*wyth good hert.*'"

[c] "Memorandum for the print in wax."

"Item that ye ryde by Oxford and there make and cause to be made there inquire for somme sufficient Prest to be mayster of our workes, and that ye speke wyth mayster Bentley for the same, and to shew hym how my lord Cardinall hath handlede us, wyth all the circumstance; and what he hath doone for us; and how Margarete Gedlynge hath appon her othe declared here sylff, and what she sayth of Charles Knyvet.

"Item that ye speke wyth my lord Broke yf he be at London, and to knaw of hym whether the benyfice of our gyft in Calilond be voyd, and also that ye have communicatione wyth hym for the change off our lordshype [*land in*] off Calilond for hys lordshype in Wylteshyre called Wardere, acordynge as we wrote to hym whot grete offers we have for the same, whyche we have as yet forborne because of hys suet made unto us.

"Item that ye speke wyth my lord Ferys for hys furre of sables, and that ye cause Auchet or Skyanes to see yt, and that ye dryve the lowest price theroff, and to certyfye us of the same, and that ye make serche for blak genytts, and to take the advyse of diverse brokers for the same, and to reteyne them to put you in knawlege of suche things as shall comme to theyre hands and that shalbe meete for our use.

"[*Item that ye convey wyth you to Londone the two knoppes of our two cuppes of gold, and cause whyt borders to be made aboute the armes of England in the same.*

"*Item that ye make payment to Robert Amadas for the potts made for crytennynge of my lord of Burgayvenyse chyld and to brynge the same wyth you, and to boroo for us of the same Amadas.*

"*Item that ye bowroe of Robert Amadas two payre of candelstykks, two basyns, two imageys of sylver, and a grete crosse for our chapell to serve us at Crystemas next.*]

"Item that ye speke wyth my lord of Burgaveny and to desyre hym [*to be*] that he woll have communicacione wyth Thomas Lewkener to serve us, and to take charge of our sonne the lord Stafford, and of suche payments as shalbe made for hym and to offer hym vij^{d}. ob' by the day and x^{li}. of fee, and hys wyfe to be in our howse at mete and drynke, and wageys yf he and she shall so be contented.

"Item that ye require S^{r} John Koke late our Chaplene in our chapell, and to cause hym to be arested for departynge frome us contrary to his oth, and for other hys mysdemeanors in our howse.

"Item that ye require lykewyse for Gamme late of our chappell

and also to cause hym to be send unto us for that he lykewyse departed frome us.

"Item that ye speke wyth the officers of the byshope of Norwiche and of the byshope of Exetoure, for the goods of Sir John Pykrynge to be delyvred to our use, and lykewyse for suche hys goods that ye kanne have knawlege off in eny other place, and the same to be arested for the dett whyche he awth unto us.

"[*Item that ye speke wyth Sir Henry Owene and to knaw whether he and my lady hys wyfe woll comme to us this Crystenmas and brynge theyre lytyll doughter wyth them,*] and to knaw of hym what he hath hard of Mayster Bryane how the Kyngs graceys good lord unto us, and yf he woll send eny worde to us frome the same Mayster Briane, and for the beryng of our Parke of Bredsted that he woll send us word whether Sir William Wodales sonne woll make eny further suete to us for the same, and whether he woll comme to us.

"Item that ye provyd us of one good koke or tweyne, and that ye order Fyshweke to comme to serve us for the tyme of thys Crystenmas.

"Item we woll that after ye have aunswer of my lord Cardinall, yf ye shall perceyve that Margaret Geddynge have not made mysreporte to hym of us, ye take the advyse of my lady Fytzwater whether we shal take the sayd Margarete to our servyce agene.

"[*Item that ye speke wyth mayster countrollere of the Kynges howshold, and to knaw of hym whether he have made suete to the Kyngs grace to wryte to us for the kepynge of our parke of Northlee in Kent.*

"*Item that ye delyver to my lady of Salesbury our letters wherin we have wrytene to her to delyvre to your hands the* CC^{li} *whyche she owth to us at thys tyme, and appon the payment of the same that ye delyvere to her an acquetance signed and sealed by us and herwyth delyverd to you.*

"*And that ye delyver our letters to my lady Fitzwater and to knaw whether she be wyth chyld, and to by suche stuff for lytyll Mary as my sayd lady woll advyse you to doo, and to knaw of her who were godfaders and godmoders to the chyld of our doughter Mary.*] Item to shew her the demeanor of my lady our wyfe, and also to my lord Fytzwater. And therfor my lady Fytzwater may doo us grete pleasure and coumforth to purvey us of a sad woman to be abowt her; for we thynke the demeanour of my lady ys suche that Margaret Geddynge wol be loth to be abowt her, and to knaw who told her of the thyngs that we shuld doo at Southamptone, &c.

"Item that ye lede James Owtred whych kept our parke of Posterne to come to us and kepe our new parke of Thornbury.

"[*Item to send oon fro London to serve us to make wafers and to make wax and to serve us in our ewry.*

"*Item that ye call appon the Duc of Suffolks counsele for our obligacione of D. marks reymaynynge wyth to be deliverd to you for that we payd hyme the same as appereth by hys acquietance remaynynge with us.*]

"Item that ye speke with Mayster Lyttester, and where he shewde us of iij. gentylwomen that be the Kyngs wards and that he wold acerteyne us whan eny suche wards fell, we woll ye shew hym that we desyre hym soo to doo, and also to shew you of them for that we wold bhy iij. or iiij. suche, and that he wolbe lovynge to Pudsay grome of the Kynges Chamber that he may have oone for hymsylff.

"Item that ye speke wyth sir Thomas Lovell to be favorable to us in the same.

"Item that ye delyver our letter of credence to sir William Compton, and to shew hym that we woll send hys evidence to hym after Crystenmas, and to desyre that yf he kanne agre wyth the partyse that the castell of Beverstone and the parke of Wever and the manor of Tokyngtone come to hys hands that we may have them of hym in exchaunge.

"Item that ye delyvere our letter of credence to Mayster Countroller of the Kyngs howshold, and to shew hym that we be sory that the kepynge of our parke of Northle shalbe no more proffitable to hym, and to desyre to send us suche newse as he hath of the Frensh Kynge and the emproure.

"Item that ye delyver our letter of credence to sir Edward Nevell, and to desyre hym to inquire for some honest man that wolbe our baylyff of Thonebryge and wolbe bound [*to fyn*] with sufficient suertys wyth hyme for the dw excersysynge of the same office acordynge to the copye of the bonnd reymeynynge wyth my lord of Burgayveny, and to shew hym that he shal have instructions frome us, and a warrant for tymber where be thynketh yt may be best had for the palynge of the north lannds.

"Item to speke with oon John Clement of London for makynge of knotts[d] and devyses in selynge.

[d] The Stafford knots. Ed.

"Item that ye shew my lord of Saynt Johanes that Thomas Fytzgarret hath made a contracte wyth our basterd daughter, and that we woll that he shall receyve the hole proffytts of hys lands fro mychaelmas last forwards, and that we desyre my lord of Saynt Johanes to medle no more wyth the lands, and for that mony that ys dw to hym over the mony that he hath receyved off the sayd lands we shall pay hym.

"Item that ye make Crochet to order our harnnes of every kynde, and makyng aparte, and a reymayne to be takene theroff.

"Item that a remayne be takene of our tents.

"Item that ye cause levys torne in our primer to be new wrytene, and the claspys to be new made of

"Item that ye kanne speke wyth my lord Cardinall that ye shew hym for the credenc in our letter that we thank his Grace of all hys grete goodnes towards us, and that we intend after candelmas to resort to our lordships in Wales yf the plage of the grete sekenes sease, the whiche yet still reayneth ther; whyche jorney shalbe moche proffitable unto us as well for the knowlege whyche shalbe gyvene by our tenents to my Lady at here fyrst commynge thyther as for leveynge of our rents and fermes and lawfull casualtyse, whyche woll not be leved onlasse we be there present; nother justice mynysterd, as our counsayle and officers have made reporte unto us; and for that yt ys well knowne to all the Kyngs commissioners that have bene ther, and to our counsayle, that we kanne not be ther for our suerty with owt iij. or iiij. hundred men; and though we shal have them of our owne officers and tenants, yet many of them shalbe our gentylmens servaunts of small stature. And forasmuche as we trust that the Kyngs Hyghnes and my lord Cardinall wold not have us cast away, we desyre my lord Cardinall to be meane to the Kyngs Grace that we have licens to have our harnnes secretly convayd wyth us, and not to have yt worne but in tyme of nede for our suerty."

LETTER LXXXVII.

Andrew Wyndesore, afterwards the first Baron of that name, to Cardinal Wolsey, respecting a Wood in Agmondesham, in the County of Bucks, which had belonged to the late Duke of Buckingham.

[IBID. WOLSEY'S CORRESP. xiii. 116. *Orig.*]

PLESE yt yo^r^ Grace to vnderstond that there is iij. of the Kyngs servaunts that make labor for a Woodde that was the Duke of Buckinghams in Agmondesham in the countie of Buckingham, callyd Dreynford woodde, whiche of trouthe is the fayrest Woodde of tymber within twentie myles of Wyndesore ony wey, yff grete nede shal be for beyldyng there, and is worthe two hundrethe marks to be soldf or better. And besyds that there hathe bene this twentie or thirtie yeres an Ayerye of goosse hawks[a] contynually there bredyng, whiche be verrey good as ony flee. And by mysorder they were put ffrome bredyng there. This yere they breede but a littil thens. Yt is noo dowt but they wyll come thither agayne if the Woodde may stonde. The seid iij. persons make theym sure of yt, if your Grace steye yt nott, as I am informed. Yff the Kyngs grace wold geve twies as moche money for so moche fayre tymber for beylding, of a suertie his Grace can not have yt noo where there abowte. As knowithe God

[a] goshawks.

who euer preserue yo^r Grace. ffrome London this Wednesday in Witson Weke.

Your humble seruante

ANDREW WYNDESORE.

To my Lorde Gardynall Grace
be thys delyuered.

LETTER LXXXVIII.

Archbishop Warham to Cardinal Wolsey remonstrating against an alleged command from the King's Council, to have stabling for his Grace's horses to be kept at livery within the Monastery of Christ Church Canterbury.

[IBID. MISC. CORRESP. xvi. Supplem. 31. *Orig.*]

*** From the mention of "the King's Grace and th'Emperors late being at Canterbury," in this Letter, the date must be placed in or about 1520.

Stowe, in his Summarie of the Chronicles of England, 24mo. Lond. 1598, under 1520, says, "As King Henry was at Canterburie with the Queene in readines to have passed the sea, hee heard of the Emperour Charles comming, with whom he met at Dover, and accompanied him to Canterburie, where, after the Emperour had saluted the Queene, his aunt, hee tooke shipping into Flaunders."

PLEASE it yo^r moost honorable Grace to understand that I heresay by reaport that a servaunt of the Kings Grace is come to Canturbery at the comaundement of the Kings Counsell (as he saith) to have stabilling for the Kings horses to be kept at lyvery within the Monastery of my Churche of Canterbery; shewing no letters of the Kings Grace or

other writings: declaring thesaid comaundement. Suer I am that the Kings Hieghnes and your Grace, well enformed of the great charges that the said Monastery hath ben and moost daily be put unto, wolbe well contented to spar the same frome any suche maner extraordinary charges; ffor the said Monastery hath been so burdend with receyving and intertaynyng bothe of the Kings Graces moost noble ambasitors and other princes, and of other honorable personages passing by that way, beside the Kings Grace and themperors late being ther, besyde also fynding of men to war, above gret subsidies and great loneys, that if suche charges or other lyke shuld contynue, thesame mought after be utterly decayed; whiche I wold be very lothe to see in my tyme. And I trust veryly that your Grace for the gret devotion that your Grace oweth to Christs Churche, and to the blessed Martir Sainct Thomas wolbe contented of your goodnes to putt some remedy that noo suche newe charges be enduced, but wolbe so gratious to yor religiouse bedemen there as to discharge thayme therof, specially when the said Monastery standyth far of frome the Kings Grace contynuall abode, to kepe any lyvery of horse comodyously for the Kings Graces use. And also bicause it was never seen hertofor that any suche lyvery hathe been kept in thesaid Monastery by the Kings Graces dayes, or any of his noble progenitors.

I beseche God to send your Grace as good helthe and as gret honor in your jorney boothe going and coñyng as your hart can desier, and as I trust verily your Grace shall have, seing your entent is so good and so godly. At Otford the fyveth day of Julii.

At your Graces coñaundement

WILLM. CANTUAR.

To the moost reverende father in God and my very synguler good Lord my Lord Cardinall of Yorke, and Legat de latere, his good Grace.

LETTER LXXXIX.

Cuthbert Tunstal, Master of the Rolls, to Cardinal Wolsey from Lucca, requesting leave to detain Nicholas Cratzer, one of the King's servants absent upon leave, who was on his return home.

[IBID. xii. 82. *Orig.*]

*** Nicholas Cratzer was a Bavarian, born at Munich, and educated in the Universities of Cologne and Wyttenberg till he was a bachelor of Arts: afterwards coming to England, and to the knowledge of Fox, bishop of Winchester, he was made by him a fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where he was admitted, July 4th, 1517. About the same time he read astronomy in that University by command of Henry the Eighth; and was soon after made by Cardinal Wolsey his mathematical reader there. In February and March 1524, he took the degrees in Arts.

He wrote, at the desire of William Tyler, one of the grooms of the bedchamber to King Henry the Eighth, a work entitled "Canones Horopti," a copy of which in manuscript, bound with another work of his entitled "De Compositione Horologiorum," still remains in the Library of Corpus Christi College: the latter

followed by several smaller Tracts. A copy of "Canones Horopti" is also preserved in manuscript in the Bodleian Library.

Wood (Ath. Oxon. edit. Bliss. vol. i. 4to. 1813. col. 190) says, "He made the old dial in Corpus Christi College garden; and that standing on a pillar in St. Mary's south churchyard, in the High Street of the city of Oxon.[a] On which soon after was hung up the University's condemnation of the doctrines of Luther."

He was living in 1550; but Wood thinks he died soon after; and says many of his books came into the hands of Dr. Dee, and some into those of Dr. Richard Forster, likewise a noted physician and mathematician.

The Cottonian MS. Vitellius B. XIV. fol. 276, preserves a Latin letter from Cratzer to Lord Cromwell. It is imperfect. It consists chiefly of foreign news, and relates partly to some papers which he had forwarded to Cromwell by Hans Holbein. It is dated Aug. 24, 1538, and signed Nicholas Cracerus.

PLEASE it your Grace to understand that here in these parties I met with a servant of the Kings called Nicholas Cratzer an Almayne, deviser of the Kings Horologies, whiche shewed me howe the King had licenced hym to be absent for a season, and that he was redy to retorne in to Englande: Whome I desired to tary unto I might write unto the Kings Highnes to knowe his pleas[r] whether he wolde suffer hym to be in company with me for a season, unto the Assemble of the Electors were past, with whom he hath (as he sayeth) acqueyntance of many noble men being aboute theym. I thinke if the Kings Grace wolde cõmaunde hym to tary for a season with me, he might at the saide Assemble do the King as goode service as if he were in Englande, in serching howe

[a] Leland, in his "Encomia illustr. Viror" has a copy of Latin verses entitled "Columna in Isidis vado, à Nicolas Cratzero mathematico erecta."

the nobles of Almayne be mynded concernyng the affaiers of the Empier; and yet he shulde put the King to no charge, for he shall have mete and drynke with me. Wherein I beseche your Grace to knowe the Kings pleas^r^, for one leshe have coñaundement from the Kings Highness, or ells your Grace, neither he will tary nor I will kepe hym here longer. Wherfor I beseche your Grace, by the next post, in this small matier to knowe the Kings pleas^r^ and yo^rs^. Other newes then suche as I have written to the Kyng at this tyme there be not, whiche I shall not nede to repete, forasmoche as the Kings lettres shall come to the handes of your Grace. Whiche Almighty Jħu preserve to his pleas^r^ and yo^rs^. ffrom Luke the xij^th^ daye of Octobre.

By your Gracys most humble
bedeman CUTHBERT TUNSTAL.

*** This Letter must have been written in October, 1520. Tunstal returned from his Embassy to the Emperor in April, 1521.

LETTER XC.

Sir Richard Gresham to Cardinal Wolsey. Undertakes to procure hangings for the Rooms at Hampton Court.

[STAT. PAP. OFF. WOLSEY'S CORRESPONDENCE, v. 110. *Orig.*]

*** Sir Richard, the father of Sir Thomas Gresham, was born at Holt in Norfolk, but brought up in London, where he was apprenticed to an eminent mercer, who was also a merchant of the Staple

at Calais. He received the freedom of the Mercer's Company in 1507. Mr. Burgon, who has written an account of him in the "Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham," says that though occasionally engaged in Flanders, he pursued his business at home, and that there is no evidence of his having been appointed to the office of Royal Agent in the Low Countries, as has been asserted, although he was frequently employed in the service of the State as its financial agent. Wolsey and Cromwell relied much upon him for foreign intelligence. He was sheriff of London in 1531, and elected Lord Mayor in October, 1537. Ward, in his Account of Gresham College, places his knighthood in the former, Burgon puts it in the latter year. The benevolence of his character was shewn in a Letter which he wrote to King Henry the Eighth during the year of his mayoralty, suggesting the foundation of Hospitals in London upon the Dissolution of some of the Monasteries; an advice which was acted upon in the foundation of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. The project of founding a Bourse, too, in London, afterwards named the Royal Exchange, was his before it was his son's. Sir Richard Gresham died at Bethnal Green, where he ordinarily resided, Feb. 21st, 1548-9.

The Hangings which form the subject of this Letter require a separate notice. Mr. Jesse, in his elegant little Tract entitled, "A Summer's Day at Hampton Court," says, p. 25,

"In the Tapestry of the Hall of Hampton Court the gold lies in broad spaces in the most perceptible splendour.

"The early history of those magnificent Hangings has not yet been ascertained, but works of such beauty, and of such intrinsic value must have been carefully recorded in the Inventories of the Crown. They might very probably have been part of the magnificent gifts interchanged between Henry the Eighth and Francis the First, at the celebrated Field of Cloth of Gold. They are, in all likelihood, of that period; and it is well known that the French monarch, who patronised the fine arts in so regal a manner, had not overlooked the works of the loom. He engaged Primaticcio from Italy expressly to make designs for tapestry, which was executed at a Manufactory founded by this Monarch at Fontainebleau, and placed by him under the direction of Babon de la Bourdaisiere, and where the introduction of gold and silver thread was carried to a great extent.

"Still more probable is it, however, that these Tapestries were pre-

sented to Cardinal Wolsey by the Emperor Charles the Fifth. Such costliness of material would accord well with the spleudour of a potentate who swayed not only the destinies of Germany and the Low Countries, but of the Gold Provinces of South America. There is much in the style of Raphael in the treatment of the subjects. One boy, in particular, appears to have stepped from the Cartoon of the Beautiful Gate."

This fairy dream, however, is dissolved in few words by this, and by the next letter but one, from Sir Richard Gresham. Sir Richard had taken the measure of eighteen chambers. The price of the Hangings would be a thousand marks, or more: and it was necessary that an imprest of money should be advanced to the weavers. "The makers of them be but poor men, and must have money to fore-hand, for provision of their stuff."

In Letter XCI. we have a Postscript, "Your Grace spoke unto me for certain cloths of gold for to hang your closet at Hampton Court. I have now some eight pieces, which I shall bring to your Grace next Week."

Such were the Tapestries of Hampton Court, neither interchanged between Henry the Eighth and Francis the First at the Field of Cloth of Gold, nor presented to Wolsey by Charles the Fifth; but ordered by the Cardinal of the makers, and paid for like his other furniture.

MY LORDE Jhus.

Yt may pleasse your Grace to wette I have takyn the messures of xviij. Chambres at Hamton Cortte and have made a Boke of them that your Grace shulld sette your hande. And wher as your Grace hade shuche bessynes that I cowde nott speke with your Grace, and for the cawsse the Martte ys alle moste endyd, I can nott tarre no longer. Your Grace shale undyrstond that I am departyd toward the parties of beyonde the See, and at my comynge thedyr God wyllynge I shale cawse the sayd Hanggyns to be made with deligense a cordyngly. And wher as the

said Hangyns wyll a mownte oon M^{ll} marks and more, and the makyrs of them be but power men, and must have monye to fore hande for proveycion of their stuffe, I shale laye howtt for your Grace a preste of money to them before hande, and at my comyng home I shale certify yo^{r} Grace what I have doon.

Yt maye please your Grace to be soo goode lorde on to me that your Grace wylle delyver to Master Gowstewyck my byll for the Prevye Seale for Sir John Cutte, I must nedys paye moche monye to the Customers for custum excepte I have yt, as knowthe God, ho ever kepe your Grace in good helthe Amen. Wrettyn at London the xiiijth daye of Octob^{r} A^{o} xv^{C} xx^{ti}. With the hande of your owne servitor

RYCHARD GRESSHAM.

To my Lorde Cardinalles goode Grace.

LETTER XCI.

Sir Richard Gresham to Card. Wolsey, requesting a Licence for himself and two of his Brethren to extend their trading.

[IBID. v. 117. *Orig.*]

*** Sir Richard Gresham's two brethren, mentioned in this and in another Letter, were William Gresham of London, mercer; and Sir John Gresham, of Titsey in Surrey, who was Lord Mayor ten years after his elder brother, in 1547. In a Letter which will be hereafter given he mentions their imprisonment at Antwerp.

My Lorde, yt maye please your Grace to have me in your remembranse for the lycense that I movyd your Grace of at Hamton Cortte; the effecte of the sayd lycense ys that I and too of my Brederyn shale shyppe howtte of thys Reame and brynge in to the same as moche goods, wharres, and merchandyse as the Custom ther of shale be dewe to the Kynge to the some of ijM^{li} iiijC^{li} and for payment ther of to paye every yere CCC marks tyll the said somme be payd upe on goode and sufficient Suertyes, &c. My Lorde I wollde beseche your Grace that I myght knowe your pleasser I shulld sende in to the partyes of Turke a shype with merchandyse &c. and wher as your Grace owt me CC iiij^{xxli} I am contentyd to geyffe yt your Grace for the sayd leycense, and have made your Grace a generalle quetanse wiche I delyveryd your Grace at Hamton Cortte, as knowthe God hoo ever send your Grace goode helthe and longe leyffven Amen. At London the xj daye of Janyuer A° xv^{c} xx^{ti}. With the hande of your servytor

RYCHARD GRESSHAM.

. I have delyveryd to Mast^{r} Henage the sayd leysscense.

To my Lorde Cardinall's good Grace.

LETTER XCII.

Sir Richard Gresham to Cardinal Wolsey, respecting the seizure of a Cargo of Wheat, which he was intending to bring to England, by order of the Archduchess Margaret. Has obtained Hangings of Cloth of Gold for the Cardinal's own Closet at Hampton Court.

[IBID. v. 115. *Orig.*]

PLEASETH yt your Grace to be advertyssed that aboute the terme of iij. monethes passyd, considerynge grette scarssitie of Whete to be lykely in this Reame, I made provisyon and bought in the partyes of Brabant iiij M[ll] quarters: wher of I charged iiij. shyppes of the same undyr congee grauntyd by the Lady Margrett Duchesse of Savoy and the Lords of the Conceyle ther, and payd the charges therof, with tolles, custums, and other costs accordyngly; wyche shyppys so beyng charged departyd from the porte of Andewerpe wher they receyvyd in the sayd Whete in to Zelland, abydynge ther aftyr the Wynde. Then cam contrary commandement downe in the name of the sayde Lady Margaret. Soo that in noon weysse the same Shyppes myght nott departe, but wer constrayned to retorne backe a yen to the sayd towne of Andewerpe, and ther to dyscharge in gærnetts the same whette at my grette coste and charges: and compelled me further to paye the whole freyght that

I shulld have payd from thens in to England contrary to good reason and conscience. Wyche whette yette remaynythe ther in the same garnetts unsolld to myn grette aftyr dele. And for as moche as the pryce of Whette now ys fallen in the sayd parties of Brabant xvj^{d} sterlyng in every Quarter, and ys lyckly daylly to falle, soo that in case I shulld be constrayny'd to make there sale therof, I shulld susteyne the loosse and dammage of iiij^{C} marks sterlyng or more, wyche shulld be to myn grette hynderance. It maye therfore pleasse your Grace to be so goode and gracious lorde un to me, the premysses concidered, to signe thys lettre addressed in your Grace's name unto the sayd Lady Margarett, in favor of the premysses: and duryng my lyffe I shalle praye for the prosperite of your most noble Grace. From London the ixth daye of Marche A^{o} xv^{C} xx^{ti}.

By your servytor

RICHARD GRESSHAM.

Your Grace spake unto me for serteyn clothes of golde for to hange your Closett at Hampton Cortte: I have nowe cum viij. peces, wyche I shulle brynge to your Grace the next Weke God wyllynge.

To my lorde Cardynalls goode Grace.

LETTER XCIII.

Archbishop Warham to Cardinal Wolsey, upon the spreading of Martin Luther's doctrines in the University of Oxford.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. VI. fol. 171*. *Orig.*]

*** Archbishop Warham was Chancellor of the University of Oxford from 1506 to 1532. The present Letter, as will appear hereafter, was written in 1521. Warham distinctly states in it, that Cambridge was the first of our Universities in which Luther's works were studied and his doctrines received; and that the infection had spread thence to Oxford.

PLEASE it your good Grace to understand that now lately I receyvid letters from the Universitie of Oxford, and in thoes same certayne newes whiche I am very sorry to here. For I am enformyd that diverse of that Universitie be infectyd with the heresyes of Luther and of others of that sorte, havyng emong theym a grete nombre of books of the saide perverse doctrine which wer forboden by your Graces auctoritie as Legate de latere of the See apostolique, and also by me as Chauncellor of the saide Universitie, to be hadd, kept, or redd by any person off the same, except suche as wer licenced to have thayme to impugne and convince the erroneus opinions conteyned in theym. But it is a sorrowful thing to see howe gredyly inconstaunt men, and specyally inexpert youthe, fallith to newe doctrynes be they never so

pestilent; and howe prone they be to attempt that thing that they be forbeden of thair superiors for thair ouyne welthe. I wold I hadd suffered grete payne, in condition this hadd not fortuned ther, wher I was brought up in lernyng and now am Chauncellor, albeyt unwurthy. And I doubt not but it is to your good Grace right pensyfull heryng, seyng your Grace is the moost honorable membyr that ever was of that Universitie.

And wher thesaid Universitie hathe instantly desyred me by their Letters to be a meane and suter unto your Grace for thayme, that it mought please the same to decre such ordre to be taken toching the examination of the sayd persones suspectyd of heresey, that the said Universitie rune in as lityll infamy thereby thorough your Graces favor and justice as may be after the qualitie of thoffense.

If this matier concernyd not the cause of God and his Churche I wold entierly beseche your Grace to tendre the infamy of the Universitie as it myght pleace your incomparable wisedome and goodnes to think best. For pytie yt wer that through the lewdnes of on or two cankerd members, whiche as I understand have enducyd no small nombre of yong and incircumspect foles to geve ere unto thaym, the hole Universitie shuld run in thinfamy of soo haynouse a cryme, the heryng wherof shuld be right delectable and plesant to the open Lutheranes beyond

the See, and secrete behyther, wherof they wold take harte and confydence that theyr pestilent doctrynes shuld encrese and multiply, seyng bothe the Universities of Inglande enfectid therewith, wherof the on hathe many yeeres been voyd of all heresyes, and the other hathe afore nowe take apon hyr the prayse that she was never defylyd; and nevertheles nowe she is thought to be the originall occasion and cause of the fall in Oxford.

By thes my writing I entende in nowise to move, but that the capitaynes of the said erroneus doctrynes be punishede to the ferefull example of all other. But if all the hole nombyr of yong scolers suspectyd in this cause (which as the Universitie writeth to me be marvelouse sory and repentaunt that ever they had any such boks, or redde or herde any of Luthers opynyons,) shuld be callyd up to London, yt shuld engendre grete obloquy and sclandre to the Universitie, bothe behyther the See and beyonde; to the sorow of all good men, and the pleasure of heretyks, desyering to have many folowers of thayr mischef; and (as it is thought) the lesse brute the better, ffor thavoyding wherof the said Universitie hathe desyred me to move your Grace to be so good and gracyouse unto thaym, to gyve in commission to some sadd father which was brought up in the said Universitie of Oxford to syt ther, and examyne, not the hedds, (which it may please your Grace to reserve to your

own examination) but the novicyes which be not yet throughly cankerd in the said errors, and to put thaym to suche correction as the qualitie of thair transgression shall require and shall be thought . . . . . ed . . . . grace.

Item, the said Universitie hathe desieryd me to move your good Grace to . . . . my lorde of Rochestre or my lorde of London to note out besyde . . . . . werks of Luther condemnyd alredy, the names of all other suche n[ames] of writers, Luthers adherents and fautors, as they perceyve to be er[roneous] and repugnant to Catholique feythe, and thoes names described . . . . . table send downe to the Universitie of Oxford, commanding thaym, that [no] man without expresse licence have, kepe, or rede any of the same boks under the payne of excommunication. Whiche in myne opinion shuld be [a] meritorious dede, wherby shuld be taken away the gret occasyon of f[alling] hereafter into such inconveniences, for I undrestand ther be many of thos newe writers as yll as Luther And therfor it needeth this gret provision to be made for stopping of thaym, as of Luthers. In which al the premisses I woll not be so bold to move your Grace to this present, for I know well your Grace woll of your incomparable wisedome and goodnes ordre thoes same far better than I can devise, move, or res . . . At Knoll the viij. day of Marche.

At your Graces comandement

WILL'M. CANTUAR.

*** Wood, in his Annals of the University of Oxford, edit. Gutch, vol. ii. p. 19, has given the sequel to this Letter. Having noticed the University's surrender of its privileges preparatory to receiving a new charter, and the insults from the townsmen in consequence, in 1521, he says,

"But while these things were in doing, certain persons of Martin Luther's faction (as they were now called) were busy in Oxford in dispersing his doctrine and books. So far, it seems, were they spread in a short time through several parts of the Nation, that the Cardinal wrote to the University to appoint certain men from among them to go up to London, to examine and search his opinions that were predominant against the articles of Holy Faith. Whereupon, after consultation had, they appointed Thomas Brinknell about this time of Lincoln College, John Kynton a minorite, John Roper lately of Magdalen College, and John de Coloribus, doctors of divinity, who, meeting at that place divers learned men and bishops in a solemn Convocation in the Cardinal's House, and finding his doctrine to be for the most part repugnant to the present used in England, solemnly condemned it, a testimony of which was afterwards sent to Oxford, and fastened on the dial in St. Mary's Churchyard by Nicholas Kratzer, the maker and contriver thereof,[a] and his books also burnt both here and at Cambridge."

It is not a little remarkable that Wolsey, in the efforts which he made in support of sound learning, became himself the unconscious spreader of Luther's doctrines.

A.D. 1526, Wood says "In the mean time Lutherism increased daily in the University, and chiefly in the Cardinal College by certain of the Cantabrigians that then remained. The chiefest Lutheran at this time was John Clark, one of the junior canons, to whose private lectures, and disputations in public, divers graduats and scholars of Colleges and Halls resorted. So great a respect had they for his doctrine and exemplary course of life that they would often recur to him for resolution of doubts: or else if they, through impediment, could not come, then he, by certain messengers, and particularly by one Anthony Delaber, a scholar of St. Alban's Hall, afterwards of Gloucester College, would send their doubts either by writing or word of month. They had also their private meetings, wherein they conferred about the promotion of their religion. They prayed together, and read certain books containing the principles of

[a] Already mentioned, p. 231.

Luther. Divers, as well religious as secular, scholars of Colleges and Hostles were infected with them, and in particular some of Corpus Christi College, of whom were Nicholas Owdall or Udall, John Dyott, and others; which being told to the Founder of that College, was by him much resented.

"Some also of Magdalen, others of Canterbury and Gloucester Colleges, who, persisting in their opinions, were, some ejected, others severely punished till they recanted. Nay, some also were so obstinate as to dye in prison, and frye at the stake, rather than to recede. Notwithstanding many eminent men did dispute and preach in the University against it, yet the Lutherans proceeded, and took all private occasions to promote their doctrine."

Wood, in his Fasti Oxonienses, edit. Bliss, vol. ii, col. 72, noticing the incorporations in the University in 1526, says,

"Nov. 5. John Clarke, M. of A. of Cambr.
— John Fryer, M. of A. of Cambr.
— Godfr. Harman, M. of A. of Cambr.

"These three came to Oxon to be preferred in Cardinal Wolsey's College, but they, proving violent Lutherans, as Coxe and Fryth (whom I shall anon mention) did, were forced to leave that College. John Fryer was, upon account of religion, committed prisoner to the Master of the Savoy, where he did much solace himself with playing on the lute, having good skill in music; for which reason, a friend of his would needs commend him to the Master, but the Master answered, take heed, for he that playeth is a devil, because he is departed from the Catholic faith. Afterwards he was set at liberty, and, travelling beyond the seas, returned to that religion wherein he was educated, was made doctor of physic, and after his return he settled in the parish of St. Martin Outwich in Bishopsgate Street, in London, where, dying in the winter time, an. 1563, was buried in the church there." Wood subsequently mentions "Richard Coxe and John Fryth, B.A. of Cambr., who came to Oxon. to be preferred in Cardinal Wolsey's College."

LETTER XCIV.

Archbishop Warham to Cardinal Wolsey. Thanks him for a rich Jewel which he had sent as an offering to St. Thomas of Canterbury. Intends perusing certain works of Luther which he had received by the hands of Wolsey's chaplain, Dr. Sampson, without delay, at Otford: proposes returning in ten days to Lambeth, and will then confer with Wolsey upon them.

[STAT. PAP. OFF. WOLSEY'S CORRESP. xvi. 1. *Orig.*]

R^me^ in Christo Patre et Domine, Domine mi colendissime debitam Com. vestræ R^mae^ P^tis^ literas humanitatis plenas libenter accepi, legique libentissime, quæ me profecto maxima affecere voluptate. Quod autem dignatur R^ma^ Do. V. munusculum meum ad eandem jamdudum transmissum (quod certe perexiguum, neque tanto patre sat dignum extiterat) tam benigne acceptare tantopereque laudare; gratias eidem obinde ago et habeo immensas. Summopere enim cupiebam (quod item nunc cupio) ut R^ma^ D. V. meum potius erga eandem animum perpetuo illi dedicatum, quam rem ipsam saltem tam exilem estimare acceptareque velit.

Quantum autem ad jocale illud preciosissimum per venerabilem virum Dominum doctorem Sampson vestræ R^mae^ Do^is^ capellanum jam ad hanc Ecclesiam

meam Cant.' missum et ibidem decenter ac honorifice oblatum attinet: tam piam tamque sanctam ejusdem R^mae Do^is.. V. in optimum maximumque Deum ac gloriosum ejus martirem divum Thomam in hac parte devotionem nemo profecto est qui non plurima laude prosequatur atque vehementer extollat. Pro quo quidem tanto tamque munifico munere preciosissimoque thesauro, in dubie sperandum est ab ipso omnipotenti Deo præfatoque ejus martire (quod omnem terrenam retributionem exuperat) vestræ R^mae Do^m. copiosissime retribuendum fore. Ego vero et confratres mei Prior et Commonachi Ecclesiæ meæ pro vra R^mae pa^te ob singularem ejusdem in hac re benevolentiam summamque liberalitatem continuas perpetuasque apud Altissimum preces effundemus.

"Quod enim ad ipsa Lutherana damnatissima opera attinet, accepi per dictum D. doctorem quosdam libellos quos diligentissime et legere et notare curabo; et ut diligentius id fiat, me quam primum ad Otfordiam conferam, ubi quosdam Codices Joannis Wyclifæ, non minoris malitiæ ac hæresis quam Lutheranæ hereses sint, examinare sedulo studebo: quo facto ad Lamehitham erga decimum diem instantis Mensis me recipiam, et sequenti die vestram R^mam D. (uti debeo) visitabo. Et quicquid in iis rebus mea opera efficere possit vestra D. R^ma. me paratissimum habebit. Non mediocriter profecto Anglis

duntaxat, verum etiam universæ Religioni Christianæ merito congratulandum est: quod Deus talem, tam pium, tam sanctum, tamque Catholicum Principem qualis serenissima regia Majestas sit hac tempestate nobis adversus damnatissimos Ecclesiæ hostes atque hereticos, quasi e celo missum, concesserit. Quod si sua Majestas ab Ecclesia Christi (quod absit) deficeret, non parva toti rei pn^cae^ Christianæ jactura immineret. Cætera taceo, donec (Deo volente) cum R^ma^ P^te^ vestra coram liberius conferre licebit. Ex Ecclesia mea Cantuarien. tercio Aprilis.

Ejusdem R^me^ P^tis^.

obsequentissimus deditissimusque

WILLM^9^ CANTUARIENS.

Reverendissimo in Christo Patri et Domino domino Thomæ miseratione divina tt. Sanctæ Ceciliæ Sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ presbitero Cardinali Eboracen. Archiepiscopo, Angliæ Primati et Apostolicæ Sedis a latere Legato, Angliæ Cancellario, tanquam Domino meo.

LETTER XCV.

John Longland Bishop of Lincoln to Cardinal Wolsey in relation to a Monk of St. Edmundsbury who had preached at St. Peter's in the East at Oxford.

[IBID. vii. 123. *Orig.*]

* * * * * *

THER is a moncke of Saint Edmundsbury called Doctor Rowham whiche preched *quarta dominica*

Quadragesimæ att S^t^. Peters in Oxon. the mooste seditious Sermoñe that ye have herd of, in raylyng azenste your Grace and Byshopes for this sequestration of evyll prechers, maynteynyng certayn opynyons of Luther, comfortyng erronyous persones in ther opynyons, sayng *Nolite timere eos qui occidunt corpus*, &c. Applying itt to bold them in the same, with many other inconvenyent and unfyttying words in his said Sermone, whiche I feare me hath and will doo moche hurte. Whose Sermone I send nowe unto your Grace: itt is that that is wryten in Englishe. Albeytt he didde spek emany moo evill things then be ther wryten, as the best of the Universite will prove. And they have bound hym by oothe to drawe his said Sermone, as nighe as he can, as he spake itt, and bryng itt in by a day. Howebeytt I feare he will nott a byde the Aunswere butt will rather flee his way. Wherfore your Grace shuld doo a mervylous good deade straight to send for him to Bury, that he may be forth comyng to his aunswere when your Grace shall comaund. Thus I encombre you with long mater, saving itt toucheth on the cause of Chrystes chirche, wherein we have oonly you to be our refuge and comforte. Thus the blessyd Trynyte preserve your noble Grace in long prosperouse helth and welfare, Writen in Holborñ the day of Apryll.

Yo^r^ moste humble bedisman

JOHN LINCOLN.

LETTER XCVI.

John de Maiano, a sculptor, to Cardinal Wolsey, requesting payment for works done at Hampton Court.

[IBID. viii. Pt. i. 22. *Orig.*]

*** The origin of the Sculpture at Hampton Court has not been less misrepresented than that of the Tapestry.

"It is well known," says Mr. Jesse, "that Leo the Tenth sent Cardinal Wolsey terra-cotta Busts of the twelve Roman Emperors, to decorate his Palace."[a]

Unfortunately no proof whatever exists that Leo the Tenth presented Works of Art to Wolsey at any time. But, as regards the Busts at Hampton Court, the following Letter settles that question.

John de Maiano, a sculptor, writes to Wolsey that, agreeable to the Cardinal's order, he had made and set up eight terra-cotta images in circles, at his Palace, painted and gilt, at the price of 2*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* each; that he had also completed in the same manner three stories of Hercules, at the price of 4*l.* each; and that he had expended more than twenty shillings in setting up his sculptures; making a total amount of 31*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; in part of payment of which he had received ten pounds. Compelled by necessity alone, he beseeches the Cardinal to give orders for the remaining 21*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to be paid to him. The Letter is dated in 1521.

Of John de Maiano the writers on the Arts of the middle Age say nothing. He was evidently unknown to them. But there were two brothers of the name; Giuliano and Benedetto Maiano, who lived half a century before; who were well known as sculptors and architects, and who left throughout Lower Italy, from Florence to Naples, many splendid monuments of their genius. John de Maiano was probably a son of one of these Florentines.

Giuliano Maiano was employed by Alphonso of Naples, and also by Paul II. in 1471.[b]

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[a] Gent. Mag. Dec. 1845.

[b] Compare, Vasari, Vite de' piu excellenti Pittori, Scultori, et Architetti. edit. Rom. 4to. 1759-60, tom. i. pp. 300, 450. Cicognara, Storia della Scultura dal suo risorgimento in Italia sino al Secolo di Napoleone, fol. Ven. 1813—1818. tom. ii. pp. 116, 117.

R^me^ in Xp̄o pr' &c: Cum ex mandato vestræ gratiæ fecerim et in vestro Palatio apud Anton Cort collocaverim octo rotundas imagines, exterra depictas et deauratas, pro pretio librarum duarum solidorum vj. et denariorum octo quamlibet earum; ac similiter tres historias Herculis, ad rationem librarum quatuor pro unaquaque: et pro dictis operibus in ipsa domo situandis etiam expenderim solidos xx. et ultra: Quæ summa in totum est libræ xxxj. solidi xiij. et denarii iiij. Ex quibus habui libras decem: nunc sola necessitate coactus ad vestram R^mam^ Do. confugio, rogans eam et obsecrans ut dignetur jubere residuum dictæ pecuniæ mihi solvi: scilicet libras xxj. solidos xiij. et denarios iiij. prefat. R^mae^ Do.V. humiliter me commendans; cujus jussis ero semper obsequentissimus servus et fidelissimus.

JOANNES DE MAIANO Sculptor.

xviij. die Junij M.D. xxj.

R^mo^. D. Carl^i^. et supp. pro Jo. de Maiano sculptore.

LETTER XCVII.

John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, to Wolsey. Alarmed at the havoc made by the Plague, and by the Sweating sickness. Promises a pilgrimage to our Lady of Walsingham. Has two Lutherans in his house. Proposes riding to Oxford "for the ordering thereof."

[IBID. vii. 111. *Orig.*]

*** John Longland, born at Henley in Oxfordshire in 1473, became first a demy and afterwards a fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. In 1505 he was made Principal of Magdalen Hall; Dean of Salisbury in 1514; and in 1519 Canon of Windsor. Here he was received into such favour, that the King made him his Confessor, and, upon the death of Bishop Atwater, promoted him to the See of Lincoln, to which he was consecrated May 5th, 1521. In or about 1528, when Henry the Eighth first made his scruples in regard to his marriage with Queen Katherine known, Longland, under the advice of Wolsey, is said to have suggested his resorting to a divorce. In 1532 he succeeded Archbishop Warham in the Chancellorship of the University of Oxford. He died in 1547. His bowels were interred at Wooburn, whence the present Letter is dated; his heart at Lincoln; and his body in the chapel of Eton College, where an epitaph still preserves his memory.

The chief of his publications were sermons; most of them preached in English before the King; but translated into Latin by Thomas Key or Cay, of All Soul's College, and printed, some by Pynson and some by Redman. He likewise published two or three Expositions on parts of the Psalms. Herbert in his Typogr. Antiq. pp. 553, 1547, gives the Titles of two Good Friday Sermons published by Longland in English, one preached before the King at Richmond in 1536; the other at Greenwich, in 1538.

My bounden duety mooste lowly remembrede unto

your good Grace. Pleasith itt the same to undrestand I was att Courte accordyng to your mooste honorable advertyse on Trynyte Sonday, Corpus Christi Eve, and the Corpus Christi day, whiche Even the Kyng his Grace was shryven; on the morowe shrevyn and houseled. I mynystred as my weykenes wold serve, in pontificalibus. And I mooste humbly thanke your good Grace, I founde hym especiall good lord to me many ways. And further itt may please you to be advertysed that att my beyng att London I lay there this daungerous tyme of sweting where many dyyde on every side of me, and yett I taryed tyll itt came in to my house whiche forced me to flee: and durste nott for that I came oute of that corrupte aier presume to come in your presence. And, when I came to my house att Wooborn poorely as I might labor in a litter, and some tyme on a horse; then dyverse were lately dede of the plage, and iiij. seeke, and this day oon sweting in my house, where I dare nott tary because of my servaunts and my self both. In consideracoñ wherof, and for helth of my body, I wolde mooste humbly beseke your Grace to lycence me to goo to Buckeden. I have also promysed Pilgremage to our blessyd Lady of Walsinghame as sone as my strengthe will serve me, where I shalnott fayle butt say Masse for the Kyng and you.

I have twoo Lutheranes in my house, the oon is the Preste that wrotte the letter which I delyvered

your Grace, the other is he that he wrotte itt unto. The preste is a very heretyke as appearith by his confessions, and hath as he durste doon hurte in my dioces: the other is yll butt nott soo yll. The preste hath maade answer to all the poynts of his lettre whiche I delyvered unto your Grace with moche more, a right lardge confession. I purpose unless your Grace comaund contrary, to abjure them bothe, and putt them to open penañce, and afterward to remayne in twoo Monasterys in penaunce tyll your pleas^{r} be knowen. And in the honor of God beseche your honorable Grace emongs all your godly labours and paynes ye take for the comune welth, to remembre the infecte persones in Oxenforde, some ordre and punysshement to be taken with them: for if sherpenes be nott now in this land many oon shalbe right bold to doo yll. And noo doubte ther arre moo in Oxenford as apperith by suche famous lybells and bills as be sett uppe in night tymes upon Chirche doores. I have twoo of them, and delyvered the third to my Lord of London. I truste your Grace hath seen itt, whereby ye may perceyve the corrupt mynds, and if itt may stand with your pleaser for asmoche as they arre in this case *de grege meo* and I have chardge of ther soules, I shall assone as my strenghe will serve me (whiche I thinke wilbe Mighelmas or itt will come eny thing) I shalbe gladde having your instruccoñs. And knowing your pleaser in that

behalf, to ride to Oxenford myself for the ordering thereof, if itt so shall stand with yo^r honorable pleaser. And shall dayly pray to our Lord God for the long preservacion of your noble astate long to endure. Wryten att Wooborn[a] the xxvj day of Junij.

Yo^r most humble bedisman

JOHN LINCOLN.

To my Lorde Legate his Grace.

LETTER XCVIII.

John Clerk to my Lord Cardinal, from Rome. Has a day promised him by the Pope for the presentation of the King's Book against Luther in the "open Consistory."

[IBID. iii. 51. *Orig.*]

*** The writer of this and one or two succeeding letters enacted so prominent a part in the business they refer to, that the reader may very naturally ask who he was?

John Clerk was one of Wolsey's chaplains, and afterwards the Cardinal's proctor and the King's envoy at Rome. His earliest preferment was the church of Porteshede, in the diocese of Wells, to which he was presented by the Lord Latimer in 1513. In 1519, upon the resignation of Pace, several of whose letters the reader has been already made acquainted with, he was collated to the archdeaconry of Colchester, and in the same year was installed Dean of Windsor. In 1521, he began his career as an ambassador by the presentation to the Pope of a Book which Henry the Eighth had written against Luther; and he solicited and obtained the Bull by which the Pontiff designated Henry as "Defender of the Faith."

[a] This was Wooburn in Buckinghamshire, a short distance from Maidenhead, where the Bishops of Lincoln had a palace. This residence of theirs was alienated from the See of Lincoln by Bishop Longland's successor; and finally pulled down in 1750. In ancient time it was surrounded with a moat.

In 1522 he was made Master of the Rolls, and in 1523 rewarded with the Bishoprick of Bath and Wells. Nevertheless, from 1521 to 1526 we find him employed entirely at Rome. In 1526, his negotiations were transferred to France; whence, in 1528, when Cardinal Campeggio passed through that country, Clerk accompanied him to England. He now engaged on the King's side in the business of the divorce, and served the citation upon Queen Katherine to come to her sentence. His last embassy was to the Duke of Cleve in 1540, to explain, or rather to declare the King's reason for divorcing himself from the Duke's sister. In his return he fell ill at Dunkirk; as some thought, not without suspicion of poison. He died, after a lingering illness, Jan. 3rd, 1541. In his will, which he made whilst laying sick at Dunkirk, he bequeathed his body to be buried in the great church of the town of Calais, and gave a short Latin Inscription which he ordered to be placed above his grave. The will was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Jan. 17th in the same year; but we have no record of the interment having taken place at Calais. Weever and Strype both give an Inscription for him in similar words to that directed in his will, as remaining in their time in the old church of St. Botolph Aldgate. Strype supposes it to have been removed from the Church of the Minoresses in the same neighbourhood, the site of whose house was granted in the 31st Hen. VIII. to Clerk and his successors, Bishops of Bath and Wells, in exchange for the old town residence of their see, called "Baths Inn," without Temple Bar. Clerk is said to have taken up his residence in the new abode, and, after all, possibly died there. "John Clerk, priest," was his ordinary signature to his letters even after he became a bishop. He very rarely signed "Bathon." His Letters in the Cottonian Collection are numerous; many of them in cypher.

THE Popis Holynes saith: that I shall haue a day this next Weke to present the Kyng's booke in opyn Consistory; against the whiche day I trust to be redy with myn Oracion: wherof I shold now haue sent your Grace a copye by this corrar had he nott a departyd on day rather than he was appoynted. This

almighty God preserve your Grace. At Rome the xxv. day of September 1521.

Yowr Grace is most humbyll Chapleyn
and servant
JO CLERK prist

To my Lord Cardinall is Grace.

LETTER XCIX.

John Clerk to Cardinal Wolsey; Copies of the King's Book against Luther presented to the Pope at a private Audience.

[COTTON. MS. VITELLIUS B. IV. fol. 165. *Orig.*]

*** The "Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum, ædita ab invictissimo Angliæ et Franciæ rege et do. Hyberniæ Henrico ejus nominis Octavo," was printed at London by Richard Pynson, "An. M.DXXI. quarto Idus Julij. Cum priuelegio a rege indulto."

A considerable number of copies, twenty-eight, were forwarded to Rome, as we read in the present Letter, to be presented by the Pope to different Potentates and Universities, each copy signed with the King's own hand.

These were delivered to the Pope in the month of September, and on the second of October following, as the succeeding Letter will shew, the Pope's own copy, splendidly bound, which had been privately delivered at the first meeting, was publicly presented to him in the Consistory.

The copies circulated in England subsequent to this presentation at Rome, had Clerk's Oration, the Pope's extempore Answer, the Bull of Approbation, the Pope's Indulgence to the readers of the King's Work, and another Tract by Henry against Luther prefixed. And at the end, "Epistola regia ad illustrissimos Saxoniæ Duces pie admonitoria."

Each of these Tracts have a separate series of signatures; shewing that they were printed after the "Assertio," and were added to increase its importance in the circulation. The book itself, though long

before prepared, was not allowed to be circulated till it had received these adjuncts.

Lowndes mentions an edition of the Assertio printed at Rome, 4to. 1521, and another put forth by Leo the Tenth, 4to. 1522. It was reprinted at London by Pynson, 4to. "M.DXXII. xvii. Kalendas Februarii." Other editions were, 4to. Antwerp "in ædibus" Mich. Hillenii, anno M.DXXII. Kalend. Aprilis"; 4to. Argentinæ, 1522; 4to., no place, 1523; 12mo., without place or date, in Berthelet's type; 4to., Romæ, apud F. Priscianensem Florentinum, 1543[a]; 12mo., Lugd., 1561; 12mo., Par.; 1562. A German translation, in 4to., was published as early as 1522.

The whole of the Edition of 1521, Clerk's Oration, Leo the Tenth's Answer, Bull, &c., translated into English by T. W. Gent, was published, 4to. London, 1687.

Collier, in his Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. pp. 11—17, has given a judicious Analysis of the "Assertio," such as may serve the reader's purpose who has no access to the original.

PLEASITT your Grace to vndrestande . . . of September I receyuyd your Grace is lettres of the . . . . and with them the Kings Grace is, and also your to the . . . . Holynes: and certayn paquettis of bokys contayning in a . . . . . nomber of xxviij mad by the Kings Grace agaynst the he . . . . . of Martyn Luther. And the sam day I went vnto the Popes holynes, and accordyng vnto yowr Grace is instructions: m . . . . fyrst the Kyngs Grace is humbyll and filiall recõmendaci . . . and so delyuerd his lettres declaryng vnto his Holynes the Kynges Grace is deuote mynd always borne towardis hym and . . . holy See, and how that his Grace hath nott only att all s . . . been, as he now is, redy to en-

[a] At the end of this Edition it is said, "Descriptus liber ex eo est, quem ad Leonem X. Pont. Max. Rex ipse misit."

ploye his parsone and subs . . . . for the mayntenance of Cristis faith, and defence of his ch . . . . butt also now latly hath enployed soche lernyng and othe . . of Grace as God hath sent vnto hym, vnto the sam porp . . . puttyng his Holynes in remembrance what actis in tymes past his Grace had done with his sword, for the defence of the churche: and how that now he had with his pen . . . . . without great labor and stvdy diuysid and mad a . . . . the confutacion and totall extinction off the erronyo . . . . . detestabill opinyons of Martyn Leuther, and therapo . . . . . Kyngs Grace is behalff delyverd his Holynes ij bokys . . . . . theym coverd with clothe off gold, the other with . . . . and . . . . . with a very amyabill . . . . ing the said bokys of me and beholdyng the porteur, fascio . . and tryme deckyng of the said bokis (whiche he semyd to lyke veray well) opennyd the boke coverd with clothe of gold, and begynning the prohem, redde therof successyvely v. lefes with owt interruption; and as I suppose, if tym and place and other of no small importante busynes had not lett hym he wold never a ceassed tyll he had redd it over. His Holynes in redyng, at soche place is as he lykyd (and that seemyd to be att every second line) mad ever some demonstracion, *vel nutu vel verbo*, whereby it apperyd that he had great pleasure in redyng. And when his Holynes had redd a great season, I

assur yowr Grace he gaff the boke a great commendacion and sayd there was therin moche wytt and clerkly convayance, and how that ther wer meny great clerkis that had wryten in the matter, butt this boke shold seem to passe all thers. His Holynes sayd, that he wold nott a thowght that soche a boke shold haue com from the Kyngis Grace, who hath been occapied necessarily in other feattis, seeyng that other men whiche hath occapied them selffis in stody all ther liffes, cannot bryng forth the lyke. I shewyd his Holynes that it shold be for the Kyng's Grace is great confort that his Holynes lykyd his boke so well, and taking the boke in myn hand, tornyd to the end thereof and sayd vnto his Holy . . . . . grace to the intent that the affection which he be . . . his Holynes shold mor fully apper, had mad ij. versis . . . his Holynes; and wryten them with his awn hand ther . . the end of the boke: and by cause the Kyngs Grace had wryten the sayd versis with a very small penne and by cause I knew the Pope to be of a very dull sight I wold haue redd vnto his Holynes the sayd versis and his Holynes, *quadam auiditate legendi* toke the boke from me and redd the sayd versis iij tymes very promptly to my great mervail, and comendyd them singlarly.[a] I shewyd his Holy-

[a] These were the verses mentioned in the Letter from Wolsey to the King, printed by Burnet, Coll. of Records, vol. iii. Pt. i. p. 8.—"I do send also unto your Highnes the choyse of certyne versis to be written in the booke to be sent to the Pope of your own hande, with the subscription of your name, to remain in Archivis Ecclesiæ ad perpetuam et immortalem vestræ Majestatis gloriam, laudem, et memoriam"

nes that percase this boke after dewe examinacion did please his Holynes your Grace thowght it shold be greatly for the Kyngs honor that I thē Kyngs Orator heer, myght present the sayd boke to his Holynes in publique Consistory, and that his Holynes ther de . . . . the said boke by decree consistoriall the said boke . . . nyd to be sent owt with his bullys vnder led, anno . . . . . all Cristen Prynces and all Vniuersities. Shewyng . . . Kyngs Grace had now sent soche a nomber off . . . bokys signyd with his awn hand as shold suff . . . . purpose. I shewyd his Holynes, that part off the said bokys war richely, and in no wors maner coveryd and claspyd then thos was whiche all redy I had delyverd vnto his Holynes. And herin the Popis Holynes comendyd your Grace is aduyse very well, and said that I shold present the sayd boke in the Consistory whon I wold; for he dowtyd nott but that the boke was to be approvyd notwithstondyng, seeyng that I had mo bokys. His Holynes wyllyd me to send hym v or vj mor, to the intent he myght delyver theym to sundry Cardynalls lernyd, saying that it shold be for the Kyngs honor that they myght say their opynions whiche they shold the bettar do hauyng a sight theryn befor. An as towchyng the approvyng off the sayd Boke by decre consistoriall, and the sendyng forthe to Cristen Pryncys off the sayd bokys so approvyd, His Holynes thynkyth this your Grace is request nott only honor-

abyll to the Kyng's Grace butt also to all cristen pe-pyll most fructfull and profitabyll. As towchyng the Kyngs Grace is new Tityll, his Holynes was very glad when I shewyd hym that ye had chosyn that lykyd. I shewid his Holynes furthermor that albe it your Grace . . . . . gevyn . . . . thankys for yowr . . . . . facultees as be conteynyd in the same, yett . . . . . comandyd me to giff like thankys by mowthe. A . . . I thankyd his Holynes nott only in your Grace is name, also in myn own: shewyng that I so ded, partly to fulfill your comandment, partly by cause all benef . . . employd apon your Grace, I yowr Grace is creature most of dewty take as thankfully as thowh they war employd apon my self. His Holynes sayd thes words '*Nos bene locauimus huius modi beneficium, et apud qui potest nobis prestare et prestitit longe majora.* Wher as it lykyth your Grace of your infynyte goodnes geff vnto me yowr most vnworthie and most . . . den servant so large thankys for doyng my dew . . . in the enlargyng of your said legacion: reputyng . . . selff in my dett vntyll suche tyme as by some . . . . ye haue acquytyd the same. Alas my good lorde if I shold spend my hart blod in your Grace is servyce shold I nott deserve that that your Grace hath d . . . me all redy: butt the more that I am bekyn . . . . . that my servitude . . . . . the more doth it apper of yowr infinit bonte that in so small a

matter wyll make so large a knowledge. And to retorne to my porpose, when the Popis Holynes lokyd apon thes bokys, now in the on, now in the other, now shett, now open, heer on chapitre and ther a nother, as men that be lothe to departe do often take ther leff. And when hys Holynes had greatly comendyd and praysid the Kyngs wytt, lernyng, and wysdome, and also yowr Grace, whom his Holynes reputyth to have been a diligent comfortar and sterrar, that the Kyngs Grace shold this employe his tyme, and who is also penne and consail, his Holynes supposid ded now and then in the said boke ioyne with the Kyngs Grace is. After all this [his] Holynes demandyd of me what other tydyngs I had *circa publica Principum negocia.* And then according to your Grace is instructions.——

LETTER C.

Clerk to Wolsey. The Public delivery of the presentation Copy of the King's Book to the Pope in the Consistory.

[MS. COTTON. VITELL. B. IV. fol. 185. *Orig.*]

PLEASITH your Grace to vnders . . . . . I was with the Popis Holynes, and shewyd hy . . . . . redye with myn Oracion: and desirid his Holynes t . . . . . me a day to present the Kyngs Boke in the Consistory. After comendacions of the

said Booke his Holynes said that he wold call a Consistory only for that purpose agaynst Wednysday next folowyng, whiche was the ij. day of the monyth of Octobyr; wherapon I demandyd of his Holynes wyther the said Consistorye shold be publique, as her to fore had ben spokyn of, or no, wher vnto his Holynes said that if ther shold be intimatt a publique Consistorie besides prelattis and soche other of the clergie as be sadd the . . . resort thether moche lay pepull of all maner gener . . . And wher as this matters of Leuther be now thorow q . . . and mennys myndis quyetyd, this acte shold putt theym in freshe remembrance, and renew the old sore. I s . . . . his Holynes that I belevyd rather that iff ther war . . . so evyll disposid the grauyte of this acte, and the good . . this Boke shold be of no small effect in reducyng . . reason. His Holynes said, that this matter was no . . .. forgotyn and the lesse steryng that shold be mad . . . . . amongst the rude and comyn pepul, beyng somwhatt frowardly disposid all redye; and so as towchyng this publyke Consistorie, I cowd optayn of his Holynes no further, but that soche bushoppis and other prelattis as shold com to the Palays that day, to accompany other Cardinals, shold be callyd in att soche season as the solempnyte of this acte shold be done. And att the same tyme I ded also put his Holynes agayn in remembrance that your Grace wyllyd me to move his Holynes per case

this booke war thowght worthye, to make some decr . . in the said Consistorie for the approbacion thereof, seing that so approuyd and sent forthe, it shold be of the more auctoryte and the bettar acceptyd; and his Holynes answerd *Nos nihil pretermittemus eorum quæ ad approbationem istius libri pertinebunt, quia est opus dignissimum et absolutissimum.* And immediatly his Holynes demandyd of me, wherapon myne Oracion shold most rest, to the intent he myght prepare me an answer accordyngly. I shewyd his Holynes that I cowd do no lesse butt speke somwhat in the detestation of Leuther and of his heresies, and the rest was off the Kyngs Grace great zell towardis the Churche and Cristis faith, and off his good mind towardis his Holynes; which ben the chieff causes steryng hym to take this notabyll acte apon hym. Apon Wedensday next after accordyng vnto the . . . . . Popis palays, befor the Popis Holynes is masse . . . sone as his Holynes had hard masse he callyd for me . . . . me be in a redynes, for he wold straight to the Consistorye . . His Holynes after a whylle went in to the place, wher con . . . ries ben accostomyd to be kepte, and with in a lytill whyle callyd in soche prelattis as was tarying with owt, bushoppis to . . . nomber off xx. And immediatly after, the Master off the Ceremonyes came vnto me, and informyd me somwha . . . . the ceremonyes, and amongst all other that I

shold kneel apon my knees all the tyme of myn Oracion. Wherat I was somwhat abashyd, for my thowght I shold nott have my harte ne my spiritis so moche att my libertye. I fearyd greatly lest they shold nott serve me so well kneelyng as they wold stondyng. How be it ther was no remedy and nedys I most do as the Master of the ceremonyes dyd tell me: and so folowyng hym I entred the place of th . . . wher the Popis Holynes sat in his Maiestie, apon a . . . . iij. steppis from the grownd vnder neth a clothe . . . a for hym in a large quadrant apon stolys sat the . . . . . in ther consistorial habitts to the nomber of xx. . . . . woyd directly befor the Popis Holynes whiche the Master of the ceremonyes remouyd, and brought me thorow the Cardynals with iij. obeysances vnto the Popis Holynes, and causyd me to kysse his foott, and att myn vprising when I was tornyng to my place agayn, his Holynes toke me by the sholders, and causid me to kisse, first the on cheke and then the other; that done, after a loowe obeisaunce I went to the voyd place off the quadrant: wher as I cam in amongst the Cardynals, and ther hauyng the stoole be for me, knelyng apon my knees I mad myn oracion, whiche I do nowhe send vnto yowr Grace. In my most humbyll wyse besechyng the same, thowhe it be veray rude and simplyll to take it a worthe: for my witt and lernyng wythowt more warnyng wold

stretche no farther. After myn Oracion I rose vpe, and with iij. obeysance is went vnto the Pope: and delyverd him the Kyng's booke, and immediatly retornyd in to my place agayn, wher vnto me knelyng, his Holynes spake this wordis, or very like in effecte. '*Librum hunc omni alacritate suscipimus, est sane talis ut eo ipso nobis et venerabilibus fratribus nostris nihil potuerit mitti gratius. Regem vero ipsum, potentissimum, prudentissimum, ac vere Cristianissimum nescimus magis an admiremur, qui primum armis . .. . . ne hostes tunicam Cristi scindere cupientes, felici success . . domuit. Et tandem Dei ecclesiæ, atque huic sanctæ Sedi pacem devictis hostibus, restituit. Nunc vero quod adversus monstrum hoc teterrimum, hunc librum conscribere simul sciverit potuerit et voluerit, non magis se toti orbi mirabilem, ipsa styli e legantia quam ingenio prestitit. Creatori nostro gratias suppliciter . . . qui talem principem Ecclesiæ suæ atque huic sanctæ Sedi defensorem concessit, eundem Creatorem nostrum humilime orantes vti tali suo regi vitam felicem, atque omnia sua optata multo benignissime annuat, et post hanc vitam in regno suo cœlesti Coronam sibi perpetuam asserve*t. *Nos vero, quantum cum Deo possumus eidem prudentissimo Regi, in concessis nobis a Deo faculta . : . . nunquam sumus defuturi.*"[a] The whiche answer to the e . . .

[a] The copy of the Pope's reply, which Henry the Eighth prefixed to the "Assertio" at its publication, was a little altered from this, and polished as to diction.

your Grace shold haue the mor certayn knowlege, I noted as precislye as I cowde, and causid ij or iij of my servants to do the same, by cawse I wold be sure. I may well . . . . from the wordis, butt I assure yowr Grace this was . . . and his answer was not moche lengar. After . . . . and made myn obeysance, and departyd. And apon Saterday, the whiche was the v. day of this monyth, I went vnto his Holynes agayn, and it lyked his Holynes att my fyrst comyng to vse veray good wordis vnto me concernyng myn Oracion, and the pronunciacion therof, and I thankyd his Holynes for his benygne and grate audience, shewyng that it shold be veray pleasant and confortabyll to the Kyngs Highnes when he shall vnderstond how honorably and thankfully it hath lykyd his Holynes to accepte his Booke, and how that dowghtles he wold thynke his labors very well enployd; how be it I said I stood in dowght lest yowr Grace is mynd sholld not be in all partys satisfyed, who as a membyr of this See, and a speciall servant of his Holynes, wrott hether as a Consaillor, that per case this booke war thowght worthye, his Holynes shold witsaff to confyrme it by decre in the Consistory expresslye, wherby nott only all good pepull myght the more a regardyd it, but also the Kyngs Highnes and other men shold a ben the bettar enchoraged to attemptyd like thyngs herafter. His Holynes answerd me that this See shold do as moche for

the confirmacion of this booke as ever was done for the workys of S. Augustyn or S. Jerome, and bad me bryng vnto hyme soche bokys as I hadde to be sent forthe and the . . . . . bullys annexid *sub plumbo*, as on your Grace is behalf . . . his Holynes befor. And after great comendacions of the Booke his Holynes said that *Ecclesia Gallicana in condemp* . . . . . *Leutherum et dogmata ipsius, in hac suâ condempnatione quæ nuper emanavit, ex studio Parisiensi videtur ta . . . approbasse multas opiniones ipsius Lutheri contra Romanam Ecclesiam.* How be it I ded nott perceyve that his Holynes ment any lyke thyng to be in the Kyngs booke, nor I can nott see whye he shold. In the next Consistorye the Kynges Highnes shall haue his titil gevyn him, and apon th . . . the bullys speed, and briffis off thankis as mor at large I shall wryght vnto yo^{r} Grace by the next.

There is tydyngs come of certaynte that the Turke who . . . . . a go enterd Hungary with on hunderd thowsand men hath taken and destroyd ther the castell of Belgrado, whiche is a very strong town, and the key of all that realme. In so much that men fear heer wors tydyngs shortly, for the Kynge of Hungary is veray yong, and as it is said his Consail are in dissencion. How be it the said Kyng is in fyld with . . . puysance, wherof great helpe is com vnto hym . . . . . It is all so reaportyd that the said Kynge off Hungarye intendith to make a

jorney with the said great Turke shortlye, so that iff ther be on jorney ther, and an other in Italye, and the iij^de^ in France, the Erthe shalbe well satiated with Cristen blode. I beseche almyghty God to send vs peace, and preserve yowr Grace, and soche other as be mynded that ways to your eternal glorye and prayse iff ye can bryng it a bowte.

Her is no mane hear in this coorte for the realme off Scotland butt a servant off the Dewke off Albany is, who dothe heer all the feattis off that realme in his masters name. The archebushopryche off Sayncte Andrews hath ben voyd all thes viij monythes, and as yett ther is nothyng wryten theroff vnto the coorte of Rome for the expedition ther off.

The quen of Scottis sewith her husband *in causa divorcij et dissolucionis matrimonij*, the cause is committid in the root and the dewk of Albany is factor is promotor in the cause. This the almyghty God preserve yowr Grace. At Rome the x. day of Octobyr 1521.

Yo^r^ Grace is most humbyll chapleyn

My Lord Cardinall. . . . . .

*** Luther replied to Henry's book in terms of great discourtesy,[b] and was himself replied to, some time after, by a Friar of the name of

[b] Thomas Hannibal, in a Letter to Wolsey from Rome, Dec. 13, 1522, says "Luther of late hath written agenst the Kings Grace; whych Boock I send to you: the book is full of raylynge agenst the Kyngs Grace. I soght all Rome to know whether wer mor, bot I coude fynde non. If any mo cumme, the Pope hath commaundyde that non shall cumme in lyght. I shall tak them all, and pay for them and brent them." MS. Cotton. Vitell. B. v. fol. 105.

Murnér, who treated Luther quite as coarsely as Luther had treated Henry the Eighth. There is a Tract of his in the Library of the British Museum which is not mentioned by his biographers, namely, "Antwort dè Murnar vff seine frag, Ob der Künig vō Engellant eim liōgner seÿ oder der gòtlich doctor Martinus Luter." 4to. "Datum ex Mithilena insula Anno xxiij.," *i. e.* 'Answer of Murnar to the Question whether the King of England or Luther is a Liar.' 4to. Mithelene. 1523.

Wadding in his "Scriptores Ordinis Minorum," fol. 1736, p. 221, mentions Murner's "Defensio Libri Henrici Octavi Regis Angliæ contra Lutherum." He also speaks of his "*Kalendarium* in quo Lutheranorum mores secundum circulum Zodiaci describit graphice."

The only work of Murner which Zedler notices in his Grosses Universal Lexicon, is a tract, "Von dem grossen Lutherischen Narren," 4to. Freyburg in Brisgau.

Thomas Murner was a native of Strasburgh, where he was born in 1475; and where, in 1520, he became professor of Law. He is said to have published a course of Logic in the form of a pack of cards, by which his pupils made so great progress that he was supposed to have had recourse to magic in devising them. In 1524 he went as an envoy to Nuremberg, and in 1526 he was at the Diet of Spier.

The Biographie Universelle says that Henry the Eighth called him into England: but this was not the fact. The circumstances of his coming to England are rather amusing, and are thus detailed by Sir Thomas More in a Letter to Wolsey, preserved in the Cottonian MS. Titus B. I. fol. 323, dated Esthamsted, 26 Aug. 1529.

"Hit may further lyke your good Grace to be advertised, that one Thomas Murner, a Frere of Saynte Francisce, which wrote a booke against Luther in defence of the Kinges boke, was oute of Almaigne sent in to England, by the mean of a simple person, an Almaign, namyng hym selfe servaunt un to the Kinges Grace, and affermyng un to Murner that the King had gevyn hym in charge to desyre Murner to cum over to hym in to England, and by occasion thereof he is cummen over; and hath now bene here a good while. Wherfore, the Kinges Grace, pitiyng that he was so deceived, and having tendre respect to the goode zele that he bereth toward the feith, and his good hart and mynd toward His Highnes, requyreth Your Grace that it may lyke you to cause hym have in reward one

hundred pownde, and that he may retourn home, wher his presence is very necessary; for he is one of the chiefe stays agaynst the faction of Luther in that parties, agaynst whom he hath wrytten many bokis in the Almayng tong; and now, sith his cumming hither, he hath translated in to Latyn the boke that he byfore made in Almaign, in defence of the Kinges boke. He is Doctour of Divinite and of both Lawes, and a man, for wryting and preching, of great estimation in his cuntre."

Murner was evidently sent to England that he might be got rid of as an opponent; probably by some zealous Lutheran. Luther himself was of a temper sufficiently frolicsome to have enjoyed such an artifice. Murner died in or about the year 1533. Numerous as were his works, especially against Luther, they are all of rarity.

LETTER CI.

Cuthbert Tunstal to Cardinal Wolsey. Intrigues against the ministers of the King Catholick suspected. Invents a Cypher which he forwards, as no trust is to be put in the Posts.

[STAT. PAP. OFF. WOLSEY'S CORRESP. xii. 74. *Orig.*]

PLESE it your Grace to undirstond that for as moch as I have at lengthe written to the Kinge at this tyme off his affaires to have recourse to his Lettre for the knowlege of them. Your Grace may perceyve by the said lettre that lettres be substantially to be made and to be sent both to the Kinge Catholyk cheffly and as me semeth also to the Lord Cheuers and the Chaunceler from the Kinge. Such practise as they suspecte to be made again them wyl never be brogth aboute: that is to say to remove them out off

governaunce, oonlesse it com off the Kinge Catholyke own mynd, for albeyt he be yonge, yet he knoweth al redy how gret a man he is and he is callyd, as I can perceyve, veray fast wher he lovyth or hatyth.

Wherfor by force he wyl not be masteryd onlesse it be first by th'emperor persuadyd to hym yff themperor wer so myndyd. Your Grace may se mor at large what I have written to the Kinge in that mater and forasmoch as thes men have now detecte to have our master suspecte to practyse again them, and it may apper that lettres have comen to ther knowlege written off that mater, for which cause they wyl suspect the Kings lettres the mor, therfor me semyth it shuld be wel doon to write al to themperor or to M. Wyngfeld in syfer, and lykwyse to me in maters which the Kinge wold have kepte secret; for ther is no trust to be put in the Posts: for which cause I have sent your Grace a sypher herin inclosyd, wherunto I have addyd certain lettres and names necessary, and also have chaungyd the ordre off it, for as to the odyr I had, it was the same that M. Secretary had, and lakkyd many thyngs necessary: which I send to thentent your Grace may mor surly write such thynges as shal be necessary to have kept secret, or the Kynge yff it please hym to use yt. I sent M. Rychmont to Cales with thys boget, and bycause that the sayd sypher may surly come to your Graces hands. I undirstond by the Chaunceler touchynge

the Duke of Gelders that he hath now late written a Lettre to the Kinge Catholyk off a more sobre style then he was wont to use, by which it may appere he makyth overture off treaty whiche I thynke shal be herkynyd unto. Your Grace may aduertise the Kinge theroff for it is not in his lettre. I have at diuerse tymes sene I come in to thes parties lent M. Spinel money which monteth in al to thyrtyti sterlinge and as yet I am unpayd. At thys tyme he writeth, as he shewyth me, to your Grace theroff, and hath gyffen me a byl for my stuard to receyve it off M. Heron off his payment off his fee next to be payd.

I besech your Grace to help the said sume may be payd to my stuard. I owe it my selff in odyr places with mor, and lykwyse I besech your Grace to be good lord to my por frends and servaunts in all ther suts to be made unto your Grace in my causes or therys, and thus yff ther any service that I may doo for your Grace in this parties yor pleasr knowen I am redy as knoweth our Lord, who ever preserve your Grace. From Bruxellys the xxvth day off November.

Your most humble
bedman CUTHBERT TUNSTAL.

To the moste reverend fader in God
and his moste singler good Lorde
Lord Cardinall . . . ke.

LETTER CII.

Richard Pace to Wolsey, detailing the Interview between Henry the Eighth and a deputation of the Monks of St. Albans at Windsor Castle, upon the death of their Abbot, petitioning for licence to choose a new Abbot.

[MS. COTTON. VITELL. B. IV. fol. 197. *Orig.*]

*** The signature of this Letter is gone; but no one who knows Pace's hand can mistake for a moment in the appropriation of it to its writer. One of the most remarkable passages is that in which Pace states the King's command that he should accompany his Majesty "by his secret way into the Park." The changes which Windsor Castle has undergone since Henry the Eighth's time, have obliterated even tradition as to the locality of this private staircase.

This Letter, however, is of greater importance as pointing out the real date when Wolsey became Abbot of St. Albans.

Fiddes, in his Life of Wolsey, p. 162, under the year 1518 says, "Cardinal Wolsey had not only the temporalities of Bath and Wells conferred on him this year, whereof he was perpetual Commendatory, but he had liberty of holding it with the Abbey of St. Albans, though the precise time when he was made Abbot of that place does not appear." Browne Willis, in a Letter to Fiddes, says, "When he came first into the Abbey of St. Albans I never could exactly find. It is plain he succeeded abbot Thomas Ramrige, who was alive in the year 1514, and possessed of the Abbacy, but when Ramrige died I could never discover. I should judge Wolsey to come in the year 1516, by some circumstances, though it is plain he had not the temporalities of it vested in him till the 7th *December*, 1521, as the patents shew." This was, in fact, the exact time when Wolsey obtained the Abbacy.

Singular, also, it is, that Newcome in his History of St. Albans states his inability to trace the time when Abbot Ramrige died. From some peculiar circumstance or other, the Muniments of St. Albans, subsequent to Abbot Whethamstede's time, seem to have

perished. The real dates of Abbot Ramrige's death, and of Wolsey's accession to the Abbey, are fixed by the present Letter.

PLEAS it yo^{r} Grace the berar heroff wyth [other] sadde religiose men off the Monastery off St. Albonys were here yisterdaye wyth the Kynge for to certifie hys Grace off the decesse off there late Abbate, and to demaunde hys licence to create anothre in hys place: and they desyridde also hys fauorable Letters unto your Grace for th'expedicion of hys Hynesses Lettres patents uppon the sayde licence. And hys Grace was contentidde to graunte unto them there Peticion, and cõmaundydde me to wryte these my Lettres unto your Grace for the sayde expedicion. Itt wolde have bene to your Graces grete rejoyse and comforte to have harde the princely and godly mocion geuyn by the Kynge hymselfe . . ly to the sayde religiose men. Hys wordys formally were thiese viz. 'We undrestonde that yo^{r} late Abbate is 'dedd, and that ye are cũmyn to us for to demaunde 'our licence to create an other, whyche licence we ar 'contentidde to graunte yow, cõmaundyng yow to 'electe none at the sute of any temporall or spirituall 'mann, but suche on as ye schall jugge in your con-'sciences most apte and meate to occupy the rowme 'for hys vertue and lernynge. Ye must also have 'respecte that he maye have sum politike wisedome, 'to th'intent that he therby maye repayre the decaye

'off yo^r House whyche as we ar informydde is greate. 'And yff we schall perceyve that ye have folowed 'thys our counsayle in your election, We schall then 'wyth goode wyll graunte vuto yow our royale assent 'at suche tyme as ye schall repare to us for the same. 'Yff ye do contrari, we schal then do as itt schall 'stonde wyth our plesure.' *Hæc puto mi R^mte. D. V. ad plenum significanda, proptereaque mihi videntur vere Regia, et viva vox Regis exprimens christianissimum animum, magnam gratiam illis verbis addidit.*

And thus Jesu preserve your Grace in long helth and continuall prosperitie. Wretyn att Wyndsore thys xiij. off Novem. By yo^r Graces most humble and faythful servaunt [RICHARD PACE.]

Post scripta. I have recevidde your Graces [Lettres] wretyn wyth your owne hande the xiij. day off this instant monyth, touchynge the Monasterye of S. Albans. And aftre I hadde perusydde and diligently debatidde wyth myselfe the contentes of the same, I went straight to the Kyngis Grace wyth your Graces lettres to hym directydde in the same matier. And I founde him re[dy] to go owte a shotynge. And yett that notwithstandynge hys Grace recevidde [from] me the sayde lettres: ande as itt [chanced] happely comandydde me to go downe wyth hym by hys secrete way unto the Parke, wherby I hadde as goodde co[mo]ditie as I couith desyre to advaunce

your Grace's petition as muche as the case [requir]-ydde. And the Kynge rede your Graces lettres hym selfe and made me privey to the contents of the same. And the few wurdes that hys Hyghnes spoke [to me] in thys cause were thyese. 'By Godde [my] 'Lorde Cardinal hath susteignydde meneye chargis 'in thys hys voyage, and exs[pendyd] x. thowsande 'powndys.' Whyche .... dydde affirme and schewe hys Grace off goodde congruence he owithe vnto you sum recompence. Whereunto hys Grace ansuered that he wolde rather geve unto your Grace th'Abbaye off S. Albans than to any Munke. And theruppon I sywdde hys Grace to signe the Popis lettre. And he comaundydde me to brynge the same unto hym at evynsonge tyme. And so I dydde. At whyche tyme he called to hys remembrance that he hadde graunt-edde to the Munkes of S^t^. Albans iv. or v. dayes past hys lycence and *congeè d'elire* to chose a newe Abbot, so as I certifyede your Grace the same time by the sayde Munkes. Therunto I schwede unto hys Grace that the sayde graunte was as yett off none effecte, because hys Hyghnesses lettres patentes were not passydde uppon the sayde graunte. And thys mine answer he lykydde welle, and signydde his lettres directydde to the Pope, commaundynge me to wryte unto your Grace that he trustyd ye wolde see to the goodde order off that house, and to the observance off ..... religion in the same. And nowe that

I have declarydde unto your Grace the circumstances of thys matier, and acc[ompli]chede your desyre to the best off my power I wyll make an ende with *prosit vobis*, prayinge Godde ye may longe enjoye thys and all other promotions ye have.

I declarydde to the Kynge as your Grace w[illed] me to do in your former lettres your opinion in . . . publication off the bull off hys new Ti[tle] thorouge thys realme at suche tyme as itt schal be by your Grace sent hydre; [and] hys Hyghnesse is welle contentedde itt s[cholde] so be orderydde.

LETTER CIII.

John Clerk to Cardinal Wolsey, announcing the death of Pope Leo the Tenth.

[STAT. PAP. OFF. WOLSEY'S CORRESP. iii. 40. *Orig.*]

*** This is a Letter which the Historian will consider of some importance. It is dated on the second of December, 1521, the day on which Leo the Tenth is most generally represented to have died; but it acquaints Wolsey, on the authority of Cardinal Campegius, that Leo had been dead eight days. The death was so announced to Clerk from Campegius on the morning of the second of December.

It is presumed that it will not be uninteresting to prefix to this Letter Roscoe's Narrative of the Mystery in which Pope Leo's death was wrapped.

"When the intelligence arrived of the capture of Milan, and the recovery of Parma and Piacenza, Leo was passing his time at his villa of Malliana. He immediately returned to Rome, where he arrived on Sunday the 24th day of November, for the purpose of giv-

ing the necessary directions to his commanders, and partaking in the public rejoicings on this important victory. It was at first rumoured that the Cardinal de Medici had prevailed upon Francesco Sforza to cede to him the sovereignty of Milan; in consideration of which he had agreed to surrender to the Duke his Cardinal's hat, with the office of chancellor of the holy see, and all his benefices, amounting to the annual sum of fifty thousand ducats; and it was supposed to be on this account that the Pope expressed such symptoms of joy and satisfaction as he had on no other occasion evinced, and gave orders that the rejoicings should be continued in the city during three days. On being asked by his master of the Ceremonies whether it would not also be proper to return solemn thanks to God on such an occasion, he desired to be informed of the opinion of this officer. The master of the Ceremonies told the Pope that when there was a war between any of the Christian princes, it was not usual for the Church to rejoice upon any victory, unless the Holy See derived some benefit from it; that if the Pope therefore thought that he had obtained any great advantages, he should manifest his joy by returning thanks to God; to which the Pope smilingly replied, 'that he had indeed obtained a great prize.' He then gave directions that a Consistory should be held on Wednesday the 27th day of November; and finding himself somewhat indisposed, he retired to his chamber, where he took a few hours' rest.

"The indisposition of the pontiff excited at first but little alarm, and was attributed by his physicians to a cold caught at his villa. The Consistory was not, however, held; and on the morning of Sunday, the first day of December, the Pope suddenly died. This event was so unexpected, that he is said to have expired without those ceremonies which are considered of such essential importance by the Roman Church. Paullus Jovius relates, that a short time before his death, he returned thanks to God with his hands clasped together, and his eyes raised to heaven; and expressed his readiness to submit to his approaching fate, after having lived to see the cities of Parma and Piacenza restored to the Church, and the French effectually humbled; but this narrative deserves little further credit than such as it derives from the mere probability of such a circumstance. In truth, the circumstances attending the death of the pontiff are involved in mysterious and total obscurity; and the accounts given of this event by Varillas, and similar writers, in subsequent times, are the spurious offspring of their own imagination. Some

information on this important event might have been expected from the Diary of the Master of the Ceremonies, Paris de Grassis; *but it is remarkable that from Sunday the 24th day of November, when the Pope withdrew to his chamber, to the same day in the following week, when he expired, no notice is taken by this officer of the progress of his disorder, of the particulars of his conduct, or of the means adopted for his recovery.* On the last-mentioned day, Paris de Grassis was called upon to make preparations for the funeral of the pontiff. He found the body already cold and livid. After having given such directions as seemed to him requisite on the occasion, he summoned the Cardinals to meet on the following day. All the Cardinals then in Rome, being twenty-nine in number, accordingly attended; but the concourse of the people was so great in the palace, that it was with difficulty they could make their way to the assembly. The object of this meeting was to arrange the ceremonial of the funeral, which it was ordered should take place on the evening of the same day.

"Such is the dubious and unsatisfactory narrative of the death of Leo the Tenth, which occurred when he had not yet completed the forty-sixth year of his age; having reigned eight years, eight months, and nineteen days?"[a]

After myn most humbyll recomendacion this is to aduyse yowr Grace, addyng to that that yester nyght I wrott vnto yowr Grace, that this mornyng the Cardynall Campegius ded send me word that the Popes Holynes was departyd owt off thys present lyff, God rest his sowll, viij dais past: what tyme tydyngs came off the wynnyng off Mylan his Holynes was forth a sportyng, att a place off his awn callyd Manlian vj. mylis owt of Rome, and the selff same day comyng whom to Rome tooke cold: and the next day feel in a fever, whiche was his dethe. At

[a] Roscoe's Life and Pontificate of Leo the Tenth, 4to. Liverp. 1805. vol. iv. p. 291—296.

his comyng whome from Manliano, I mett his Holynes, and my thought I never sawe hym mor losty. I can wryght yo^r Grace no more at this tym by cause off the short departur off this corrar, butt that every man heer begynneth to shyfte for hym selff, by cause off soche garboyll and busines as owt off all order is lyke to be comytted heer in this Cite, vntyll soche tyme as we be prouydid off a nother Pope. I beseche all mighty God send vs on to^r his pleasur. Heer is hard choise. This all myghty God preserve your Grace. The Kyngs Grace is Tytill is vnder ledd, and signed with all the Cardynall is handis, butt and I shold never so fayn, I can nott gett it owt off ther handis, for they haue ever answerd me that they wyll send it themselffis. This allmyghty God preserve yo^r Grace. From Rome this mornyng the ij. day of December.

Yo^r Grace is most humbyll chapleyn

JO. CLERK priste.

To my Lord Cardinalls good Grace.

*** Ciaconius's Account of the death of Leo the Tenth, is more particular in minute details than Roscoe's Narrative.[b]

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[b] "Inter hæc è vita migravit Leo X. kalendis Decembris anno salutis 1521, nam febris neglecta à Medicis turpiter hic etiam adulantibus, brevi erumpente vi morbi Leonem extinxit, victurum haud dubiè longiori ævo, nisi medentium accesisset, aut securitas, aut flagitium. Fuere namque qui existimarunt, Leonem indito poculis veneno fuisse sublatum; nam cor ejus atri livoris maculas ostendit, et lien prodigiosæ teneritatis est repertus, quasi peculiaris, et occulta veneni potestas viscera exedisset. Ob id conjectus est in carcerem minister a poculis, non obscuro ipdicio, quod Leonem pridie quàm decumberet, in cœna post haustum vini calicem, statim

LETTER CIV.

Cardinal Wolsey on his return from Bruges, to Clerk, after the King's Book had been presented in the Consistory. The King had given him the Abbey of St. Albans in commendam. The Pope to be solicited in Wolsey's favor. An abstinence of War proposed.

[COTTON. MS. VITELL. B. IV. fol. 207. *Orig. draft.*]

MASTER DEANE I commende me vnto you in my right herty m . . . . . retorne from Brugs I haue receyued diuerse your Lettres of sundry dats . . . . . by the way of Fraunce as of Almayn, wherof the last wer dated at . . . . . the xxiijth day of October. And by contynue of the said lettres I haue ben aduertised howe thankful and acceptable the Kings Boke, made against the heresies of frere Marthen, was vntò thè Poopes Holynes; and what excel-

obducta, ac tristi fronte ab eo quæsivisse constabat, unde nam sibi adeo amarum, et insuave vinum propinasset. Adauxit quoque patrati sceleris suspicionem, quod ipse sub auroram, cum septima noctis hora Pontifex expirasset, specie venandi cum canibus Vaticanam portam exivisset; adeò, ut a Prætorianis uti fugitivus caperetur: his scilicet admirantibus dissolutum hominis ingenium, qui intempestivas absque ullo pudore quæreret voluptates, cùm tota aula extincto beneficentissimo domino, in lacrymis, et luctu versaretur. Sed Julius Medices cum è castris ad Comitia in Urbem esset reversus, insigni prudentia de veneno quæstionem haberi vetuit, ne in nomen alicujus magni Principis inexpiaboli cum invidia quæreretur. Sunt, et qui potius credunt, venenum in pillulis ex aloè quibus per hebdomadam ad subducendam aluum vtebatur, sumptum fuisse, decepto scilicet Serapico cubiculario, qui eas in loculo uti ad frequentem usum negligentiùs servare consueyisset. Nam biduo antequam Leo moreretur, Esbius abaci præfectus nullo concepto morbo interiit, cum duas ex his pillulis de more ad tuendam valetudinem fortès umpsisset. Non defuere tamen, qui, et ministros, et Principes ea calumnia liberatos omnino vellent; quasi Pontifex obstructa jam planè fistula, et ob id saniosis humoribus ad præcordia rejectis, lætalem morbum facilè conceperit, presertim cum, et illis diebus turbidus auster nebulam pestilentem è paludibus campis ad villam importunè detulisset." Ciaconii Vitæ et Res gestæ Pontif. Roman. fol. Rom. 1677. tom. iii. col 330, 331.

lent lawde honor and . . . his Grace hathe ad quired aswel of the Poope as of al the Cardynals and also of al other, for the compiling and making of the said Boke. I perceyve also the . . and honorable circumstance whiche was by the Poopes Holynes taken for the presenting of the said Boke in open Consistorye with your commendable demeanor and eloquente Oracion made at the same tyme, and the Poopes good and compendious . . . . therunto; and last of al the honorable title geven to his Highnes in publique Consistorye for a memory of his notable acts and merits towards Cristes Church. Al which matiers I haue from tyme to tyme signyfied at good length unto the Kyngs Grace, who for your discrete, substancial, and prudent endevor and . . . . . herin geueth vnto you his herty thanks, like as I do the semblable. Ye may be sure his Grace wol haue in his remembraunce. In sm . . . haue cause to thinke your service right wel bestowed and emp . . . . . put any helpe and furtherance, as . . . . . aduertising you that necessary it is ye diligently procure and solicite that not ovnely suche ample and sufficient bulles and loving brieves as shal be requisite for the said Title be incontinently sped, and with celerite sent vnto the Kings Grace, if it be not alredy don bifore this tyme, but that also al the Boks with you remayning may be by the Poopes Holynes sent to the Regions, Universities, and Countries as they wer to you addressed

and ordred, with the Poopes bull of aprobacion of the same. Whiche thing I pray you to remembre and regarde with al effect, so that the comming of the said Boke abrode vnto light and knowlege through al Cristendome, may be with suche auctorite and honorable reputacion as the Kings notable and excellent merits have wel and most largely deserued. Remyttyng therfore the spedy and substancial doing of the premysses vnto your wisedom and discrecion accordingly. . .

Over this ye shal shewe vnto the Poopes Holynes that suche matiers as at my being with th'emperor wer concluded, and by his Majeste and me subscribed, concernyng the Treaties betwixt the Poope, themperor, and the Kings Grace be now lately here at Calais ingroced, sealed, and passed on al . . . . . wherin lakketh nothing but the Poopes ratificacion, and a newe sufficient to . . . . . be sent hither for the purpose whiche ye shal move his Holynes . . . . . orator here resident with delegence for the assured and . . . . . as shal apertein . . . . . .

Ffynally I signifie vnto you that in the tyme of this my . . . . . here, the late abbot of Saint Albans is deceased. And the Kings Grace of . . . . . mere mocion regarding aswell . . . . paynes, studies, labors, and travailes taken and susteyned here, as excessive charges and sumptuous expences, hathe without my knowlege or desire, for the better mayntenaunce of

my state, geuen vnto . . . . . said abbacie in Commendam, for whiche purpose his Grace hathe directed his lettres to the Poopis Holynes in my favor and recommendacion, the copie wherof I sende vnto you herewith. Signyfying vnto you that I have called vnto me the. Poopes Orator here resident and made him privey hereunto. Who upon knowlege therof right instantely hathe desired that he may haue the charge for thexpedicion of that matier. And albeit I shewed vnto hym that you being in the corte of Rome myzt and wolde at myne aduertisement solicite and spede in sufficient maner the bulls and breifis in this behalf. Yet neuerthelas he so much importuned me that onles . . . . . expresly haue demonstred vnto hym signe of mystrust or expres de . . . . . not but he contented to commytte the same vnto hym like as I . . . thinking good to advertise you therof to thintent' ye shulde not . . . . . ume furtherance, ye wol solicite the good expedicion therof to the Poopes Holynes, shewing vnto the same that only to do vnto his Holynes seruice and to his affaires and those of themperors. I have demored and abiden so long here, to my grete inquietacion, payn, and charge (like as) I gladly wol as al be redy to employe my self to any thing whiche may concerne the honor, suertie, and prosperite of his Holynes. Praying you that of suche newes and su . . . . as shal happen in those parties ye wol

advertyse me from tyme to tyme, as ye haue right thankefully don, as my special trust is in you.

Ye shal furthermore shewe vnto the Poopes Holyles that my long demore here hathe ben onely to see the successes and exploits of his and themperors Armyes beyonde and on this side the mountayns; and thereafter, as shulde be thought more beneficial to his Holynes and the said Emperor, to solicite and take abstinence of warr for a certain tyme. Neuertheles forasmoche as Founteraby is surprised by the Frenchemen,[a] and yet it is not knowen certainly howe the Spanyards do take the same, ne yet what they intende to do for the recouery therof. The said Emperor, my consent and avice concur . . . . thereunto hathe thought that it shulde be moche to his preiudice to accept . . . trews til he wer aduertised of the mynds and consents of the said Spanyards, wherfor I putting over this Diet, intende shortly to transport myself into England, and by sending to the Kings Grace aswel from the said Emperor as from the French King . . . . . the said Abstinence by the Kings Grace the . . . .

* * * * *

[a] Taken by admiral Bonnevet Oct. 18th, 1521.

LETTER CV.

The Duke of Albany to Lord Thomas Dacre, requesting a passport for his Secretary Gaultier Malyne to go to London.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. VI. fol. 201. *Orig.*]

*** The return of the Duke of Albany to Scotland in 1521 was a memorable event in the History of that Country. He arrived at Gareloch, in Lennox, on the 19th of November; proceeded by easy journeys to Linlithgow, where he was joined by Queen Margaret, and entered the capital on the 3rd of December; on the following day he received the keys of Edinburgh Castle, and became Regent of Scotland. He lost no time, as the date of the present Letter will shew, in opening a negotiation with England.

Angus and his party had previously fled from Edinburgh toward the English border: taking refuge in the obscure kirk of Steyle, whence they empowered Angus's uncle, the celebrated Bishop of Dunkeld, to transact their failing cause with Henry and Wolsey. Their instructions to Gawin Douglas were signed on the 14th of December.

MY LORD DACRE

For samekut as I am, to send my servand and secret maister Gaultier Malynne, to the King yo^r^ maister for certan erands concernyng ye tranquillite and wele of baith yir Realmes, theirfor I pray you y^t^ ze wil at yis my request send me z^or^ lettres of passeport for my said secretaire and sex or seven personis in his cumpany, with yare horsis, &c. in ye largeast forme be qlk he and yai may surely pass and repass without dangier or impediment; and sped me hidder ye same with this berar: the sonnast ze may. And

God haue zou in keping. At Edinbrgh subscrivit with my hand the sexth day of December, 1521.

Vostre bō Cousyn

JEHAN R.

To my Cousin Lord Dacre, Warden of the Inglish Marches forneut Scotlande.

LETTER CVI.

The Earl of Angus to Cardinal Wolsey, requesting that his Uncle the Bishop of Dunkeld may be well treated in England.

[IBID. fol. 211. *Orig.*]

*** Gawin Douglas, the well-known Bishop of Dunkeld, but best known as the earliest translator of Virgil, was born in 1475, the third son of Archibald 6th Earl of Angus. His mother was Elizabeth, daughter to Robert Boyd, at one time Chancellor of Scotland, and in 1468 one of the governors of that kingdom.

Gawin Douglas's parents dedicated him to the service of the altar. His first preferment in after-life was the provostship of the Collegiate Church of St. Giles in Edinburgh. After the battle of Flodden, the Queen-mother, who was then regent, and who had married the Earl of Angus, his nephew, (the writer of the present Letter,) presented him to the abbacy of Aberbrothick, Aug. 5th, 1514. She would have made him Archbishop of St. Andrews; and Henry the Eighth joined her in writing to the Pope on that occasion;[a] but the request was refused, and a bull for that dignity granted, at the recommendation of the Duke of Albany, to Andrew Forman; who was already Bishop of Murray in Scotland, and Archbishop of Bourges in France.

The Queen-Mother finally promoted Gawin Douglas to the Bishoprick of Dunkeld, a preferment in point of emolument then

[a] A copy of the Letter which King Henry wrote, is preserved among the Vatican transcripts recently deposited in the British Museum, Addit. MS. 15,387, fol. 28. dated 28 Jan. 1514.

only surpassed by the two archbishopricks, to which, after sustaining much opposition, he was consecrated by Beaton, chancellor of Scotland and Archbishop of Glasgow, in 1516.

From 1516 to 1521 we hear but little of public interest of the bishop of Dunkeld. He was then, as we have already seen, despatched to England. Albany, however, probably fearing his talent in negociation, and to prevent a long residence on his part, as the Earl of Angus's agent, contrived to get him summoned to Rome.

After his departure from Scotland, too, the Queen, in her Articles to be shewn to Henry the Eighth soliciting peace, Edinburgh, Jan. 6th, 1522, not only cautioned her brother against the Bishop of Dunkeld, but unhesitatingly announced that she had deprived him of his preferment. She first speaks of the Duke of Albany:

"Item ze sall geve his Grace to understand of the gud bering that he dois towart me, and quhow he has put in my hands the disposicion of ye bischopryc of Dunkeld now vacand for the delict of hyme yat had it, and has gevine me the proffits thar of, and hes givine to my servand ane Abaysy and oy^r^ benefices for my help and fauor, quhar for I pray his Grace ry^t^ effectuoslie that he help not the said Dunkeld, considering the gret evill y^t^ he hes don to this Realme be his evill consill, for he has ben the caus of all the dissencion and trobill of this Realme, and hes maid fals and evill raport of me baitht in Ingland and Scotland, and for that effect the lard of Wedderburn bruder was send to zo^r^ grace to that effect; and sen I helpt to get hyme the benefice of Dunkeld I sall help hyme to want the sa'myn. And considdering the evill that he has don to this Realme, and the displess^r^ y^t^ he hes don to me, baitht in word and deid, to my uter dishonor at his pouer, quhilk he can not deny, I trast y^t^ zo^r^ Grace will not fauor hyme nor make him na help nor fauor hym." [b]

My Lord, in my maist humyll maner I recõmend my lauthful seruice to zoure Grace, quhom plesit vnderstand I and vtheris has presentlie direct this berar my derreste uncle, my Lord bischop of Dun-

[b] Cotton. MS. Calig. B. VI. fol. 210.

keld, towart the Kingis Grace, zoure Soueraine apoun certane necessare Instruccions the quhilkis I traist salbe acceptable baith vnto his Hienes and zoure Grace. Quhairfor, at the vttermaist of my powere, I beseyk zoure Grace at my said vncle be thankfullie ressauit, and to haue gude and haisty expedition of his materis and directionnes, and at zoure grace plesit zour his gude Lord and ouris in that behalf, and to geif to him na less credence in euery thyng than to myself presentlie in personn, for it is na lytill besynes causis him mak sik travale, now at sik poynt of necessite, quhen I and all his frendis in thir partis mycht sa evill waunt his help and gude counsale. Neuertheless baith We and he fullie assurit in zoure gudenes and hye wisdome, beleving fermlye yat his passage towart the Kings hyenes and zoure Grace mycht avale gretũly, not alanerly to himself and ws, bot alsua to the weilfare of this Realme and surtye of the Kings persoun my Souerane, deirest nevo to the Kings hitnes zoure maister, has presentlye direct him fullye instruct in that behalf vnto his Majesty as said is. Beseking zoure Grace to tak gud hede to the mater: and quhat stede, plesh^{r}, or lauthfull seruice I may doo or procure to be done to zow plesh^{r} in thir partis, I salbe glayd to fũlfyll the samyn at the cõmande of zoure Grace, as knawis o^{r} Lord God, quha have zoure Grace in his blissit keping eternalye. At the kyrk

of Skyll ye xiij. day of December. Subscriuit with my hand. Zouris, with his lauthfull seruice,

ARCHBALD ERL OF ANGUS.

To my Lord Cardinallis grace of Inglaund.

LETTER CVII.

Lord Thomas Dacre to Cardinal Wolsey, acquainting him that the Bishop of Dunkeld is summoned to Rome.

[IBID. fol. 215. *Orig.*]

My Lord, pleas it yor Grace the busshop of Dunkeld is sommoned to the Court of Rome by the meanes of the Duke of Albany, who is right glad therof, one way seing that his quarrell is so good, and moost speciall that he may lawbor to the Kings Highnes and yor Grace to let the Duke of Albany in the acheving of his dampnable mynd and entreprise, for the suyrtie of the King his Souerain, whiche is in good beleue that with the help of the Kings Highnes and yor Grace shall com out of the dangeor of the said Duke and his dampnable purpose, without which it is past remedie, but onely in the mercie of God. And if it can be thought good for that purpose, that the said Busshop remane still and send his proctor to Rome with his answer, with som favorable lettre in his favor fro yor Grace to the Kings Orator at Rome,

I trust he wil be ordred therin aftre yo^{r} gracis pleasure, whom it will pleas yo^{r} grace to bring to the Kings presence, to th'intent that he may shew to his Highnes and yo^{r} grace the vehement dangeor that the King his Souerain stands in; and also to declare certain Instruc-cions made by Th'erle of Angus, the Lordes Home and Somervell, on the behalf of them self and other ther kyn, ffreindes, and partietakers, for the wele and suyrtie of ther Souerain; to the which Articles, standing with the Kings highe pleasure for the partie of the said Lordes, they ar bodely sworn vpon the holy Evangelists to perfourme the same in the presence of the said Busshop of Dunkeld and me, whom I beseche yo^{r} grace may be fauorably herd. I haue graunted to the said Busshop of Dunkeld a saufconduct by the auctoritie of myne office of Wardanre; because the tyme was so shorte and the dangeor of his message grete, he could not tarie of going and commyng to and fro the Kings Highnes. Howbeit I haue writen to his said Highnes for a Saufconduct, which I trust shall mete hym or he com to yo^{r} presence. And the blissed Trinite preserue yo^{r} Grace. At the Castell of Norham the xv. daye of Decembr.

Yowers w^{t} es serues

THOMAS DACRE.

To my Lord Cardinallis Grace.

LETTER CVIII.

Gawin Bishop of Dunkeld to Cardinal Wolsey. Announces his arrival as a negociator on the part of the Earl of Angus, and of the other Lords and great personages of his party in Scotland.

[STAT. PAP. OFF. WOLSEY'S CORRESP. iv. 71. *Orig.*]

*** If Gawin Douglas sat out upon his journey on the day on which his Instructions were dated, he must have been near, if not quite, ten days in travelling from the church of Steyle to Waltham Cross: and this is not unlikely, as, in the next Letter but one, he speaks of the Scottish priest, Sir John Duncanson, as "coming forth of Scotland with great diligence in seven days."

This, and the three subsequent Letters of Gawin Douglas, exclusive of any other interest, afford a proof how near the Lowland Scotch of James the Fifth's time, in style of composition, approached to English.

My Lord in all humble and dew maneyr I recōmend my lawfull seruyce onto z^{or} grace, quham plasyt knaw I am cūmyn in yis realm, send from my lord erll of Angus, othir lords of Scotland and grete personages, to ye Kyngs Hyenes apon certan neydfull dyrectones, and specially concernyng ye weylfar and surte of his derrest nevo the Kyng my Souȝan. And gif I quhilk am onknawyn wyt his Magestye durst haf presumyt to haf wrytyn onto ye samyn, I wald gladly, besekyng zo^{r} Grace to support me in that behalf, and y^{t} it mot plays z^{ow} to shaw me in quhat place and quhat tyme I sall cum to zo^{r} Grace, and soe

furth onto ye Kyngs Hyenes, and I salbe verre glad to awayt apon zo^{r} comand. And gif it had not bein for this he fest of Crysts natyvyte, and als y^{t} I am sumpart accrasyt by ye way, I suld haf cũmyn stretht to zo^{r} Grace, besekyng in lyke wys the samyn to pardon this my hamly wrytyn, and to send answer therof at zo^{r} plas^{r}. And ye blyssyt Lord preserue zo^{r} Grace in lang and eternall prospelite. At Waltam Cros this Crystmes evyn By the hand of

Zo^{r} chaplan wy^{t} his lawfull seruyce
GAWYN bischop of Dunkeld, &c.

To my Lorde Cardinalis Grace.

LETTER CIX.

Gawin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, to Cardinal Wolsey, cautioning him against Gauthier the Duke of Albany's Secretary.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. VI. fol. 213. *Orig.*]

PLEIS zoure Graice my chaiplane, quhilk was zisterday at zoure presence, schew me yat Galtere this secretar of the duke of Albanyis has said to zoure grace that I promyst not to cum within this Realme, and y'for of his maisteris behalf . . . zo^{r} grace to withald me heyre, and lat me pass na farthir. My Lord I beleyf zo^{r} hye Wisdome will not geif credence sa lightlye agains me, and specialie to the Duke of Albany or ony of his seruandis, quhilkis is capitalle

and dedelie inimye to me and all my houss. And thairfor it is na wounder albeyt he say sik thingis for my harme, quhilk divers tymez, and zite daylie, baith sayis and dois, all that he may or can ymagyn to my distruccionn, and exterminacionn of all my kyn. And as I sall ansuer to God and zo^{r} Gracie the contrar of it he sayis, is playn verite. For baith be messurger and write I declarit him playnlie I wald pass thro^{t} this Realme, and na vther way, and gart schew him quhat day I was appoyntit to entir in ye gronde of Ingland the quhilk I kepit trewlye. And thus zoure gracie may consider quhat fauor he beris to me, or how I suld be intretit if I war in Scotland vnder his subieccion, or zite gif I pass to France or ony vther part quhair he mon sollist ony thing, quhen he is sa bald within this Realme quhairin I traist he has lytell credence as for to sollist. zo^{r} grace in my contrar. Albeyt zē haif grantit me the Kings Hienes saufeonduct, the quhilk I traist I haif not forfalt, nor zite zoure Grace will suffer be brokin. And beside this the mater is petious gif ony Kirk man suld be . . . . . gangand to Rome for his lauthfull defence, and sūmond thiddir, and neththeless zoure Grace knawis full wele I may be lichtlie intretit to remane here bot na wayis at his cōmande nor desgre and full w^{le} wayt zo^{r} k . . . wisdome quhat is to be done or considerit . . . sik ane peticionn mekle better gar I and many sik can ymagyn. Albeyt gif

it mycht stand with zo^r pless^r I wald besyk zo^r Grace to ansuer to this Galter that gif ye Duke hes Maistere wilbe contenit my accion and mater be remittit furth of Rome to zo^r Grace, and befor zo^r Auditor, quhar of I wald be glayd, zoure Gracie suld caus me remane. And ellis quhy or how suld ze hald me fra my lauthfull defence, quhilk is of the law of nature, specealie I havand the Kings saufconduct to pass, as said is. This is my litill avise vnder correccionn of zoure Grace, quhom I beseyk to perdone this my sa haymlye wryting. And the haly Trinite haf zoure grace in his blissit and eternall keping. At Lundone this New yeris day. Subscriuit with the hand of

zo^r humble servytor and

CHAPLEIN OF DUNKELD.

To the maist Reuerend fader in God and his maist singular gude Lorde and Maister my Lord Cardinallis gracie of Zorke Legate de Latere and Chauncellar of Ingland, &c.

LETTER CX.

The Bishop of Dunkeld to Cardinal Wolsey, cautioning him against John Duncanson and Evangilista sent by Albany and the Archbishop of Glasgow.

[IBID. fol. 424. *Orig.*]

PLACYT^e zo^r Grace ze had zistyrday syh byssynes y^t I myt not schew zo^r grace quhat I tho^t tazchyng ye cummyng of this Scotts prest S^r John Duncanson

quha zistyrday presentyt Wrytyngs to the Kyngs hyenes and zor Grace for an salue conduyt, and is cummyn furth of Scotland wyt gret dylligens apon vij days, and is ryt famylyar wyt ye Duk of Albanye and speciall seruand of a lang tyme to ye archbischop of Glasgw; and has brot wyt hym wrytyngs and dyrectyones fra thaim bayth, to be sped in Frans, Flandrs, and Rome, as I know by his words. Als thar is cummyng wyt hym an Italian callyt Evangilista, the maner of a Lombard in Scotland, to convoy hym at Merchants hands heyr and in Flandrs. Gyf zor Grace hed seyn yr lettre and dyrectyones I trast ze suld knaw mony things tharby, and gif zor hye prudens thynks spedfull at salue conduct be sped her at ye instance and subscriptyon of ye said Duk, I report me to zor gret wysdom, or zit that ye said bischop of Glasgwys matèrrs and promocon for Sanctandrs suld prosper, consyddyryng he is ye mast spyciall man yt manteinys and all ways hes manteinyt ye said Duk. I dreyd alsso this Duncanson is dyrekkyt in my contrary, and to do me hurt, and beseks zor Grace to provyd ye rathar sum remedy tharfor, and gif it myt stand wyt zor plessr that he had na passage for ye causyt forsaids onto ye tyme zor Grace knew mur fully his dyrecyons, and gyf zor hye prudens plesys so do. I wold nan knew this cam by my desyr because he fenzeis hym famyliar wyt me, quharby perauentur I sall knaw sumpert mayr of his mynd, albeyt

I knaw ellis the fynes of the man and nayn mayr dowbyll in our realm. Do as pless' zo^r Grace quham God preserue. At Lundon this Epyphanye day wyt ye hand of Zo^r humble Seruyto^r and

CHAPLAN OF DUNKELD'.

To my Lord Cardynalis Grace, &c.

LETTER CXI.

Gawin Douglas to Wolsey; his disappointment at the failure of his Mission.

[STAT. PAP. OFF. WOLSEY'S CORRESP. iv. 73. *Orig.*]

*** The tenour of this, the last Letter in point of date which we are acquainted with of the Bishop of Dunkeld, shews that he found his mission had failed as early as the end of January, 1522. It is dated from the "Inn of Carlisle," some hostelry of London, it may be presumed, where he was residing; and betrays great anguish of mind. He speaks of the "tidings and writings of yesterday," and complains of the untruth of those "that causid him to labour for the weal of their Prince, and for their security, which now had wrought their own confusion and perpetual shame." He speaks of himself as weary of life, and promises to God and to the Cardinal, as a true priest, that he will "never have, nor take way, with the Duke of Albany, *the unworthy Earl of Angus*, nor with any other that assists the said Duke; nor will pass into Scotland but at the Cardinal's pleasure, so long as that wicked Duke should be therein, or have rule thereof."

From this Letter it is clear that information had arrived of Angus's intention to forsake his own cause, and to mediate, through the Queen, with Albany, for his pardon and retirement to France; Pinkerton says, perhaps by his promise to consent to a divorce. Angus did not absolutely depart to the Duke till some time after. Gawin Douglas could only have known of the negotiation for the return; and thence he calls his nephew the "Unworthy Earl of Angus."

The actual departure of Angus from the English border was first announced to Wolsey in a Letter from Lord Thomas Dacre, dated Norham Castle, Feb. 18th, 1522, and appears not to have taken place till the 12th of February.

"My Lord, pleas it your Grace I have received your writing at Norham the xiiij. day of this instant Moneth, dated the xxvij. day of Januarij, th'effect wherof is that inasmich as the Kynges Highnes was enformed that the Duke of Albany wald com downe to the Borders, which was thought aither to make some practise with th'erle of Angus and his partakers, or els to make ane Enterprise upon them with strienth, it is therfor the Kings pleasure that in case I shall perceive any Enterprise to be attempted against them that I shall aid and assist them with iij. or iiij. M^l. men of the Borders for their suyrtie, as at more lienth is specified in your said Lettre. Pleas it your Grace the said Erle of Angus at all tymes had all assistance that he could of reason desire, and also had Gonpowder with othr necessaryes which he had not hymself, like as in my former writing with my servants I advertised your Grace at lienth, and so the said Erle nor his ffrendes shall make non excuse of his and their vntrew dealing, that he neither lakit assistance nor othr necessaries that he deasired. And vpon Wednesday last past the xij. day of this moneth the said Erle with his ffrendes, aftre the retourne of Maister Clarenceux, departed in to the Duke, and as it is said he shall go over se into Fraunce, and his brodre John Som'vell and Cebington with hym. And as unto the Humes, Maister Clarenceux heard them speke, which saith they will stik at ther promise, trusting that the vntroughe of Th'erle of Angus shall not hurt them in the good quarrell; saing also, as lang as they may kepe Scotland, no grete puyssant power co'myng of them, they ar of abilite to save them self. And if they be driven out for lak of help and assistance, then they have nothing to bere them longer in this realme without assistance, wherfor they be desirous to knowe the King's pleasure and your Graces thereon."*

Plesit zoure Grace sen I herd the tythingis and wrytingis of Zisterday, I am and haif bene so dolorous and full of vehement ennoye that I dar not

* MS. Cotton. Calig. B. 11. fol. 289.

auento^{r} cum in zoure presence, quhilk causis me thus wryte to zoure nobill Gracie, beseking the samyn of zoure grete goodnes to haif companence of me desolatt and wofull wyght. Albeyt I grant I haif deseruyt punycioun, and am vnder the Kyngis mercy and zouris, not for ony fâlt or demeritt of my avne, but by raisoun of thair vntreuth that causit me labor for the wele of thair Prince, and thair securite, quhilk now has wrotht thair avne confusioun and perpetuall schayme; and has servit me as zo^{r} Gracie may considdyr, that sollistit the Kingis Hyenes and zoure Grace to wrytt and doo for thame so often tymez and so largely in diuers sortis, as wele to thair support and comfort, quhairof as now I most nedis vnderly zoure mercy. Albeyt I dowte not bot zo^{r} hye prudence consideris profoundly my part thairof, and my hole treu mynde all tyme but ony dissimulance, that in goode fayth am forthir dissavit in this mater then ony vtheris, by raisoun quharof I am so full of sorowe and displesh^{r} that I am wery of my avne lyfe; and promittis to God and zoure noble Graice, as zo^{r} humle seruand and ane trew Cristin preist, that I sall neuir have nor tak way with the Duke of Albany, the vnworthy erl of Anguse, nor na vtheris that assistis to the said Duke, but zo^{r} express commande and avise; nor neuer sall pas in Scotland, but at zo^{r} pless^{r}, so lang as this wikkyt Duke is thairin, or has rewle thairof; and I trast my brothre and vther my

frendis will vse my consale. Albeyt zon zoung wytles fwyll has rünnyn apoun his avne myscheyf be continewall persuasioune of wylye subtile men, and for lak of goode counsale shéwing to him; I dowte not mony fenzeit Lrēz and wounderfull terrors that the Lord Hwme and vtheris wald pass in and lefe him allane. And that I wald be takin and haldin heyr, and that Galter the Dukis secretar had appoyntit with the Kingis Hienes for his distrüccion, and the Duke to mary the Qwene. I dowte not sik thingis, and mekle mayr has bene sayd. And with this the wrytings at yo^{r} Gracie causid me send furth of Hamtoun courte on Sanct Thomas daye tome not to him, quhill the xiiij day of Januar, and so he has remanyt comfortless in the menetyme quhill the tother subtile folkis had convoyit thair mater. Wald God I had send ane servaund of my ovne w^{t} tha writings or past my self with thame. In cais I had lyin vij zeris eftir in preson, for I fynd absence ane schrew, and deligence with expedicioun mycht haif done grett goode. Albeit of verite thair may be noñe raisionable nor honest excuse that suld caus ony creature brek his lawte ge promytt. And I beseyk God that I may see him really punyst for his demerritis and promys brokyn made to the Kingis Hienes and me his Vncle, and salbe glayd to sollist the Kings Hienes and zo^{r} Grace to this effecte at all my powere. Noththeless I beseke zo^{r} gracie to remembre the

welefare and seruice of the Kingis grace of Scotlaund my Souerane lord and maister and so sollist the Kyngis Hyethnes to that effect, for his Grace has maid no falt but is alut'ly Innocent. This is and was my principall direccioun and caus of my hyddyr cumyng as your Gracie full wele vnderstandis: albeit I wald haif procurit as I cowth the welfayr of my self and frendis, besyde gif thai had not wrocht in the contrar to thair avne distruccioun and myne safer[b] as in thame lyis. And gif I durst be so bald as too sollist zoure Gracie and schew quhat wayis war best for the weylfare of the zoung Kingis grace my Souverane I wald be glayd to endeuor my self thairto at the comande of zoure Grace. In cais now I dar not auentor to propose na sik thingis, by raisoun that I am dissauit be my most tendyr frendis in my fyrst Interprys, in contrar to all goode lyklyhod or naturall equite. Besekyng zoure Gracie of youre gracious ansuer and quhat ze will comand me to doo, and to be my goode Lorde, and to let me knaw gif it be zo^r pless^r that I awayt apon yo^r seruice and doo my devitee as I aucht of dett, and wald be glayd so to doo. For furth of this Realme will I not depart so lang as I may remane thairin with the Kingis pless^r and zouris, quhat penurie and distres so euir I sustene. And zoure gracious ansuer her apoun in wourde be message or writing I humily beseyke. Or

[b] so far.

gif it pleis yo^r Gracie I cum my self to zoure nobill presence thairfor. And God allmyghty preserue yo^r Gracie eternalye. At the In of Carlile the last day of Januar. Subscriuit with the hand of

zo^r humble seruytor and dolorus

CHAPLAN OF DUNKELD.

To my Lorde Cardinallus good Gracie.

*** Vexation now preyd upon the Bishop of Dunkeld. The plague was making its ravages in London at this time, and Gawin Douglas became one of its victims. Polydore Vergil, who had but recently made his acquaintance, writes, "Verum non licuit diu uti frui amico, qui eo ipso anno, qui fuit salutis humanæ, M.DXXI,[c] Londini, pestilentia absumptus est."[d]

He was buried in the Church of the Savoy, where Weever saw the following Inscription, partly for him, and partly for Bishop Halsal.

"*Hic jacet* THO. HALSAL *Leighnieng. Episcopus, in Basilica Sancti Petri Romæ Nationis Anglicorum Penitenciarius, summæ probitatis vir, qui hoc solum post se reliquit: Vixit dum vixit bene. Cui lævus conditur* GOANNES DOUGLAS, *Scotus, Dunkelheng. Presul, patriæ suæ exul.* 1522."[e]

Erasmus, in his "Adagia," has given his character in few words. "Erat ea corporis specie, ut vel procul Regem posses agnoscere; ingeni vis mira; incredibilis omnium rerum cognitio."

The Cottonian MS. Calig. B. III. fol. 309, contains a very long Memorandum of Reasons why Albany should not be governor of Scotland, evidently drawn up by Gawin Douglas.

[c] *i. e.* 152½.

[d] Polyd. Verg. Hist. edit. Bas. 1556. p. 53.

[e] Weev. Fun. Mon. p. 446.

LETTER CXII.

John Clerk to Cardinal Wolsey from Rome. The Proceedings of the Conclave at the Election of Pope Adrian VI. In a third Scrutiny Wolsey had nineteen voices. The copies of Henry's Book against Luther which had been sent to Pope Leo remain undistributed. A. D. 1522.

[COTTON. MS. VITELL. B. V. fol. 15.]

*** Adrian the Sixth was born at Utrecht, and educated at the University of Louvain, of which he was afterwards chancellor. The Emperor Maximilian chose him for preceptor to his grandson, afterwards Charles the Fifth. Ferdinand of Spain gave him the bishoprick of Tortosa; and after Ferdinand's death he became co-regent of Spain with Cardinal Ximenes. Leo the Tenth created him a Cardinal, July 1st, 1517, by the title of St. John and Paul Pammachius; and he succeeded Leo as Pope on the 9th of January, 1522, chiefly by the interest of Charles the Fifth, though he had never seen Italy.

He opposed Luther strenuously; but he was unpopular with the Roman people. His habits of life and his strict economy formed too strong a contrast to the luxury and prodigality of Leo. He died on the 8th of the kalends of October (September 24th), 1523.

Dated at Rome the xiij. day . . . .

PLEASITH your Grace to vnderstonde that the ix of this moneth of January was electe and publisshed pope . . . Cardinall Adrianus tt S. Jo. et Pauli Dertusien Ale . . . . who is in Spayne, and chief gubernator there, vnder the Emperor, as immediatly then I wrote vnto your Grace; and here vnknowen, and not spoken of; and every man here right sore,

abasshed and very evill contented in there mind; in so moche that when the Cardinalls came oute of the Conclave the common people here (savyng your honor) wh . . lid at theym as they came by. The maner of the Election as I vnderstand, was this. They entred the Conclave divided principally in to two factions, Imperiall and Frenche. The parte Imperiall was divided in two parts, one parte of theym precisely for Medicis, the other parte precisely against Medicis. With the parte that was against Medicis, in that they so were joyned to . . . french parte, which two parties so joyned to gider werre farre stronger than was the parte of Medicis. Moche a doo there was, and many practises to Medicis is parte. Howbeit they were so knytte to gither by promisse and by oth, that it wolde not be. Whervpon Medicis lefte the labors for hym self, and proponed of his nere and speciall friends one or twayne with whome he myght haue disposed at his pleasur'. And they were in the same predicament that he was hym self. For they were as loth to haue any man that Medicis myght rule, as to haue Medicis hym self. And no lesse contradiction was there in the one then in the other. Then were there proponed men some what called indifferent. Howbeit rather friendely to Medicis than elles; and amongs other the Cardinall of Valle, and the Cardinall Fernesio, both Romans borne. In thies Elections men may *in ipsa Electione*

after that they haue gyuen their voyc[s] varye. And where as they haue gyuen their voic[s] to one, they may chaunge, *et accedere alteri habenti alia Votâ, et ita crescet numerus per accessum.* It happened so that this Cardinall Farnesio after dyuerse debatyngs and practises, had in one scrutynye xviij or xix voyc[s], and had so many *per accessum* that he lacked but iij. or fowre voyc[s] to be Pope. And the Cardinall of Sanctorum quatuor, who is one of the Farnesos is chief friends, to the intente he wolde animate some of the rest partely for feare to take the same awey when he sawe that the Cardinal had so many voic[s] all redy, said, *alta voce*, "*Papam habemus.*" And that in the next scrutynie he was assurid of asmany moo voyc[s] as shulde suffice and with that he and vj or vij moo went vnto the Cardinall Farnesio, and did adhoure and worship hym as Pope, and many mo folowid and did as they did, as the maner is, when they be assured that it is like to goo that ways. The Cardinal Columpna who is a stoute man, a Roman born, *et contrariæ factionis* to the said Cardinall Farnesio spake, *alta voce* vnto theym and bade they . . . their voic[s] better, and that he coude cast accompte as well as they, and that he had in dede cast it, and was well assurid they had taken their matier amysse. And other said that it shulde bee seen in the next scrutinye and so at that tyme they stayed. After that there . . scrutynie made day by day, two or thre

days together, but the said Cardinal de Farnesio coude neuer passe xxijth voices but was rather euery day lesse then ot . . . Notwithstandyng vpon this ranne the Rumor whereof I wrote vnto your Grace in myne othre lettres, that he was chosen Pope. Vpon the which rumor his p . . . sions here nye vnto the citie were spoyled; and his Palais here with in the Citie had it not been defendyd with armed men had been in like case. In theis distractions your Grace as indifferent and very mete for rowme was proponed, and as I am credibly informed had in euery scrutynye certeyn voyces that is to say in the first ix; in the seconde xij. in the iij^{de} xix. And if by the varyeng of any of the said Cardinalls thre or iiij. had made any accesse to the said xix the residue were determyned to haue fallen in, and your Grace, vndoubtedly *vnanimi consensu* had been chosen Pope. Thre obiections were made by those of the contrary parte, saying first that your Grace was to yonge. Secoundly that they had certeyn knowlege that ye were determyned to trouth and the execucion of Justice. *Et ita tanquam Assueti in hac . . . . libertate & nimia viuendi licencia* dyuerse of theym were right sore aferde to come vnder your disciplyne. Thirdly that ye favored not all the best th'emperor. To the which obiections the Cardinals de Medicis, Campegius, and Sedunensis shewed vnto me that they replied, declaryng your Graces merits and qualities,

withoute omittyng any parte therof. Assuryng me, if the Kyngs pleasur' had been knowen, and that your Grace wolde haue accepted the said rowme, the matier shulde haue taken effecte. For the avaunce-ment wherof I did not gretely labor bifor their entre into the Conclaue, by cause your Grace at my de-partyng shewed me precisely that ye wolde neuer medle therwith. And on my faith ware not the Kyngs persuasions I shulde stande yet in greate doubte whither your Grace wollde accepte it or no if it ware offred you. The thing is in such disorder, ruyne, and decay, and euery day shalbe mor' and mor', excepte God helpe, and Cristen Princes sette their hands. It shulde be to longe to write vnto your Grace of the reaported chidyng, brawlyng, and scoldyng be-twene thies Cardinalles, and of their greate scisme, dis-cention, their malicious, vnfaithfull, and vncharitable demeanor, one of theym against the other, which every day increased while they were in the Conclave. If it had not chaunced at this last season, it was not likely that we shulde haue had any Pope of a greate season, for ther was a sorte that intended to do no thing but to distroy and to lette. At this laste scrutinye a greate parte of the Cardinall de Medicis bande, and also some of the other, named this man that nowe is Pope, so that he had xv. voices, which once knowen, ther came to the same parte *per acces-sum* iij. . . . . said Cardinall de Medicis bande

which had gyv . . . . to other men. Then was there other which had gyuen voices also to other men, perceyvyng that this man had s . . . . aboue that that the said Cardinall de Medicis bande coude . . . vnto. And supposyng (*Nam dabantur vota secrete quo ad n . . dantium*) that ther myght be moore behynde of the Cardinall de Medicis bande, and of other that had gyven thir voices to other, and that they wolde swarve in like maner and fall to the . . . ways. They to gete thanks by ther tymely comyng made like accesse, so that he had xxij. voices shortely. And then they cryed *Papam habemus*, for that was the nombre requisite of xxxviij^{ti}; the reste, that were *Gallice et contrarie factum* remayned scorned, and wist not what to sey. Howbeit at the last (as I vndirstande) they perceyvyng that their contra . . coude not availe did fall to the same wais. This is the . . . of this election as it hath been reaported vnto me by dyvers persons. The Cardinall de Medicis and all that bande s . . . nowe that this election was studiously made apon this . . . but and it like your Grace they may say what they woll . . . I am credibly informed when this last scrutinye began it was no more thought that it shulde a taken any . . . . for this man then for me. Howbeit consideryng the g . . . . amytie and aliaunce which is contracted and establissed betwixte the Kyngs Highnes and th'emperor I do formely beleve that this man is as propice

and as mete for b . . . . their purposes as any man ellis shulde haue been. I haue been with the Cardinall de Medicis and shewed hym howe the Kyngs Highnes hath sent his secretary by the posts with lettres to the College, and dyuerse other Cardinals, for his preferrement to this dignitie, and howe the Secretary beyng let by the way, and throwe febilnes not hable to . . . . has sent vnto me hither the said lettres, and there vpon . . delyuerd vnto hym the Kyngs lettres and shewed hym such Lettres as were written in his commendacion. And I assure your Grace he moost hartely and in right humble maner thanked the Kyngs Highnes and also your Grace, and rekenned hym self moche bounden vnto you both, as well for other greate benefits as also for that ye did thinke hym worthy to so greate a thinge. He said the Kyngs Highnes lettres if they had cōme in season shulde haue been of no smale momente. Not withstandyng he said ther' was such obstinacy and malice in a greate meyny of thies Cardinals, that it shulde haue been very harde to haue broughte theym to haue consented in hym. And after that shewed vnto me dyuerse things donne in the Conclaye aswell concernyng your personne as his awne, moche after that that all redy I haue shewed your Grace. I thanked hym hartely for that he had don for your Grace in this matier, and said that I wolde write vnto your Grace therof. He said he was right sory that

that he did for you coude take no better effecte. Finally he said your Grace muste take pacience, for your tyme was not come. And as for hym self he had no greate hope therof afor', and from hens forwards he wolde haue lesse. He gaue this man that is now chosen greate commendacions, and demaunded of me whither your Grace knewe hym or not; and I said I coude not tell. He shewed me that Francisco Maria Duke of Vrbyn, and the rebelles of Perwse and dyuerse other Cities which be nowe reentred did make preparacion towards the Citie of Sena. 'And that they wolde so to Fflorence. And shewed me that he had spoken with thambassador of Spayne to kepe the lands of the Church, for the imperor's affaires and the churchis were nowe so joyned togider that the one coude not myscary but the other shulde smart . . . . . thervpon he advised the said Ambassador to lay out now xx^{ti} thousand ducats. And that he wolde cause the florentynes to lay oute the reste, so that they myght togider make a puyssaunce to resiste thies Rebelles. He said th'ambassador awnswered hym that he had no more nor durst not medill, for he had no comision. I haue spoken with the Cardynall Sedunen both afor' the entre into the Conclave and sens, and moche of his comunicacion was howe he shulde set the crowne of Fraunce vpon the Kyngs Highnes hed, and this papall diademe vpon your Graces hed. Assuryng your Grace that

for your advauncement therunto I vnderstande he did parte therin mervelously well. He shewed me also that the Bastard of Savoy was with the Swices and had obteyned there xMl men. But he saith there is such discencion, discorde, and actuall warre between the Cantons there, that he supposith that the bastard shall departe thens *re infecta*. There be deputed for gouernators here, for this first moneth of the Popis absence, the Cardinall *Sanctæ Crucis primus Episcopus Cardinalis*, The Cardinall *Sedunen. primus Presbyter Cardinalis*, The Cardinall of Cornato *primus Diaconus Cardinalis*. There be three other Cardinallis deputed Legati to the Pope, viz. the Cardinall of Columpna, the Cardinall de Vrsinis, and the Cardinall de Cesarinis, the which shall present vnto his Holynes this Election, and so conducte him to Rome. They shall departe shortely, but there is yet no certeyntie when, in which weys, for by Fraunce they dare not adventure skant with safeconducte, the Sees be so longe and jeobardous, not onely by cause of the tyme of yere nowe in Wynter, but also bycause of pirats, Mores, and other infidels, which hath doon moche myschief lately.

As touching the Popis comyng to Rome, men suppose heer that it must be necessarily with all possible celerite, not onely for the mayntenyng of thEmperors affaires heer in Lumbardy and Naples but also for the preseruation of the Lands of the Churche which

hourely be invaded. This Courte also is vtterly vndon but if he come the sonner; for there can no expedicions be made vntell such tyme as he be crowned. And the fructs that doth aryse of offices and other expeditions here in the Courte be nowe all moste the onely thing that he hath to maynteyne this hie and chargeable dignite withall. Men thinke that assone as the election shalbe presented vnto hym, he wolbe crowned without any solempnitie, and kepe his solempne coronacion tyll he cōme to Rome. And after he hath taken his Crowne without solempnite, he may depute a Legate here in Rome, vnder whome expedicions and matiers both of Justice and of Grace shall passe after the order accustumed. It is trouth that he may kepe the See apostolique elliswher if he will, and as in tymes paste it hath been kepte in Avignon and in Fflorence, and in many other places, so likewise nowe, if the Pope will, he may kepe it in Spayne, or in Almayn, wherin and also percase he will cōme to Rome. When that shalbe, and what wey he shall take, men suppose heer that the Kyngs Highnes shall haue a greate stroke with themperor. In the orderyng of all thies matiers, and percase that the Pope shall come thorowe the French Kyngs dominion, (which is the moost expedite, sure, and shortest way) men suppose that the Kyngs Highnes and your Grace of all men lyvyng are the . . . . . Intermediators in bryngyng that to passe that . . . . . suretie and honor

may so do. At my last beyng with the Cardinall de Medicis, I desired hym that such boks as . . . Kyngs Highnes had sent hither to be sent vnto other p . . . and had been by the Popis Holynes delyuerd to that intente vnto John Matheo, secretary vnto the said Cardinall, and chief medillar in all affaires her' aboute the Pope (and were not as yet sent oute acordyngly) myght be sente furthe or delyuerd vnto the Ambassadors here with there Bulles of conformacion annexed, that they myght sende theym vnto their Maisters. Apon the whiche requeste the said Cardinall sent immediately for John Matheo, and axed what he had doon with those boks. And he said that true it was that the Popis Holynes causid those Boks to be delyured vnto hym, and did comaunde two Bulles to be made, the one of the Kyngs title, the other for the confirmacion of the said Kyngs boke. The bull of the Kyngs title was made up *sub plumbo* bifore the Popis deth; the other bicause the Pope liked not the mynute therof, caused it to be staied, and an other minute to be made which was not sped bifor his death. I said vnto John Matheo that the Pope had shewed me hym self x days bifor his deth that euery thing was redy; and that John Matheo hym self both afor' the Popis death and synnes, at such sundry tymes as I both went and sent vnto hym to solicite the sendyng furth of the said bulles, he awnswered me that I shulde not care for

theym, for euery thing was redy, and taried nothing but for certeyn versis which the Popis Holynes had caused to be made in the Kyngs praise and of his saide boke.[a] He said vnto me that the thing was as he had now shewed me, and that the staying of the other bull was onely bicause the minute therof onely pleased not, and that they were bolde to take tyme therin, no thinge thinkyng vpon this subdayn chaunce. In my most humble maner I beseche your Grace to impute no negligence in me concernyng this matier, for, on my faith, I haue called vpon this man so importunely for the sendyng of thies bulles that I haue often tymes mervailed that he was not ashamed that I shulde soo do. I coude neuer haue other awnswer of hym but that he bade me not care, for they shulde be sent furthe all togither with a booke of versis made *in Laudem Regis et operis* to the Kyngs hie contentation. The Cardinall Medicis willed me to desire the Kyngs Highnes and also Your Grace to haue pacience, and how that it is to be supposed that this newe Pope, who is called an excellent lerned man will do asmoche for the confirmacion and exaltacion of this boke, and for all things that may concerne the Kyngs honor therin as euer did

[a] One of the copies of Henry's work which was sent to Leo, afterwards got to Bologna, where it is still preserved in the library of the "Instituto delle Scienze" in its original splendid binding. On the upper part of an ornamented leaf at the beginning, is written

"Hæc Rosa virtutis de Cælo missa sereno,
Eternum florens regia sceptra ferat."

Pope Leo. And the said Cardinall offred hymself in this and in all other the Kyngs affaires and yours, to do, speke, and procur' asmoche as in hym shulde lie, knowlegyng hym self with very large words most bounde so to do of very dutie.

LETTER CXIII.

Dr. William Knight to Cardinal Wolsey, mentioning the kindness of the Archduchess of Savoy towards him; and the seizure of an English Spy of Richard de la Pole.

[MS. COTTON. GALB. B. VIII. fol. 28. *Orig.*]

PLEASE it your Grace to understond that yestreday my lady Margarete dyd send for me and shewed that she had receved letters from the Emperors ambassador resident in Englond, wherebi she was enformed of the good woordes that your Grace had unto hym, of her and of Monsieur de Hoogstrate, and in this she hath taken grete pleasure, and ys veari glad, saiyng that as she hath bene allwaiys utterly enclyned and determynd to studye for the encrease of honor weale and suerte of the Kinges Highnesse so she will contynue her lyfe duryng. And towardes your Grace she will nevyr chaunge, but shew effectuelly that she ys and shalbe as a moste lovyng modre shuld be unto her most dere sonne; and in confirmacion of the premisses, and that your Grace shall perceyve that she ten-

dreth the Kinges and yours honor, weale, and suerte as moche as the Emperors and her owen. She hath discovred unto me that a gentleman of the cumpanie of Monsieur le marquise de Arescot hath lateli taken upon the frontiers of Valentiens an Englishman beyng espye for Richart de la Pole, which espye purposed towardes Englond, but he beyng taken and examynd, was put in torture because he varied; whose confession in Frenshe and a grete parte like but not so ample confession writen in Englishe of his owen hand, my lady cawsed to be delivred unto me. Which bothe aswell of Frenche as of Englishe I send unto your grace with this present. Moreovyr she offred unto me that whatsoevyr I wolde have doone with the saide prisonere for the kinges suerte and yours shuld be doone. Whereupon I desyred her that he might be sent in all haste possible as secretly and closeli as it might be doone unto Burborowz besides Gravelinges. Whereunto she hath condescended, and both she and I have writen unto Monsieur le marquise d'Arescot that the same gentleman that toke hym may convaye hym to the forsaide place wher he shall faule to be upon monday next. I have also writen unto Sir Robert Wyngfelde to be at the saide place upon monday to receipve hym, convaiyng hym secretlie, to kepe hym till such tyme as he shall know further of your graces pleasure. Furthermore I have promysed unto the gentleman that toke the

spye, which shall suyrli convaye hym unto Burborowz that the paynes and charges shalbe sene unto; wherein it may please your grace to have sum respect with such reward as ye shall think good, of parte of such money as restith her in William Lylgraves handes, for so doyng the gentlemen belonging unto Monsieur le marquise which lyeth upon the frontiers of the Cambrisise will make such quete that lyke espyes shall not lighth passe withowte daunger.

Moreovyr it may like your grace to know that the duke of Holesteen late elect king of Denmarke hath sent into thiese partes two persons the one called doctor Brent, and the other Dyrick van Reight, which was sum tyme servant in the highe partes unto Edmund de la Pole, and thei have sent hither a messenger with a letter directed unto the Kinges Highnesse from the saide Duke, desyring a sauf conduyct to passe into the reame, wher thei wolde treate upon certaine charges that thei have to be comuned with your Grace. I have answered this messenger, and sayde that sithyns the Emperor and the Kinges Highnesse hath joynctly sent thair ambassadors unto the dyet at Hamborowh I cowde not suppose that, the saide dyet contynnyng, the king or yow wolde gyve audience unto the saide dukes ambassadors but rather remyt theym unto the Dyet. Nevyrthelesse at his desir, and inasmoche as it was thowht good by my Lady that I shuld so doo, I was content to advertise

your Grace for knowlege of your pleasure, for which the saide messenger abideth here. Thus the Holigoste preserve your good grace. At Antwerp, this xiijth day of April.

Your moost humble bedesman

WILLIAM KNIGHTE.

LETTER CXIV.

Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, to Wolsey, in answer to inquiries concerning Ordinances of War made by Henry VII^th^., when going against the Scots; and as to the form and nature of the Indentures for keeping the Marches towards Scotland.

[MS. COTTON. CALIG. B. VI. fol. 249. *Orig.*]

*** Bishop Fox enjoyed the unlimited confidence of Henry the Seventh, and was at the head of affairs in the beginning of the reign of Henry the Eighth; but in 1515, disgusted with the arrogance of Wolsey, whom he had helped to raise, he resigned his office of keeper of the privy-seal, and retired from Court. On taking leave of the King, Fox presumed to caution him "not to make any of his subjects greater than himself:" to which Henry sternly replied, that "he knew how to keep all his subjects in subjection." Wolsey, however, never failed to resort to Fox's experience; and Fox, with that mildness of character which marked his life, was ever ready to give advice with openness and candour.

Fox's last appearance in Parliament was in 1523. He had then been nearly five years deprived of his sight. His latter days were spent in prayer and meditation, which at length became almost uninterrupted, both day and night. He died Sept. 14, 1528.

In the present Letter, Fox speaks of his former residence in Norham Castle. This was as Bishop of Durham, when he defended that fortress, in person, against the Scots, in 1497.

He also speaks of "the Insurrection that began in Cornwall and Devonshire by reason of the Blacksmith." The Legend of Michael Joseph will be found in the Mirror for Magistrates, "The Wilfull Fall of the Blacksmith, and the foolish end of the Lord Awdeley, in June, Anno Dom. 1496."

My most syngular good Lord in my right humble wyse I recommend me to your Grace, please it the same t'ondrestond that this evynnyng after viith of the clock I receyved your lettre by this berer, by the whiche your Grace willeth and desyreth me to shewe you the knowledge that I have in twoo matiers; wherof the furst is whether the Kyng that dede is (whose soule God pardone) made any entrepryse or ordynances for the subduyng of the Scottes when the werre was betwixt hym and theme; and yf he any suche made, and that I have any wrytyng therof, I shuld then sende it to your Grace; or yf I noone suche have, that then I shuld shewe you yf I have any knowlege of the said entreprise or ordynances, and what that shuld be.

My most syngular good Lord, for myne answere in this byhalf yt is of very trawthe that when the werre was bytwixt the Kyng that dede is and the said Scottes, I was duryng the said werre, that is to say byfore the begynnyng therof and at the begynnyng thereof, and soo contynewally to thende therof was made by a treaty of peaxe, lyeng and abydyng in the Bisshopricke of Durysne, Northumberland, and Ber-

wick, and some tyme with my lord of Northfolke in the Castell of Alnewick, and for a great parte with my housolde in the Castell of Norhm . And thus my lord, duryng the said werre, I cam not, nor was with the Kyng that dede is; and as towchyng the said Entrepryse or Ordynances, I neyther have nor never see any wryting therof. But soo it is, that the said Kyng that dede is dide ordeyn that my lord Dawbney, which was then his chambrelayn, shulde have come with a great puyssance unto Northumbreland and soo to have invaded Scotland, and for the furnysshyng of the same hoste with vitale, the towne of Berwick was sufficiently providede with all thinges necessary in that byhalf; as William Pawne can more specially shewe you then I; and the said entreprise was broken by thinsurrexion that began in Cornwell and Devonshire by reason of the black smyth; and of this entrepryse I doubt not my lord Chambrelayn and M^r. Lovell, and suche other as nowe be lyvyng and were then attendyng uppon the Kyng that dede is, can perfytly enforme your Grace. And this is all that I knowe towching the said entreprise, or any ordinances made for the same.

The seconde matier wherof your Grace desyreth me to put you in knowlege, concerneth Indentures made for the keping of the marches of this Realme in the tyme of werre ayenst Scotland.

My most syngular good Lord, as in this matier I

knowe not that in the werre that was bytwixt the King that dede is and Scotland there were any suche indentures made, or that any person indented for the keping of the Marches for the said tyme of werre: and to my knowlege noo persone indented for this matier sens the deth of Th'erle of Northumbreland, father to Th'erle of Nothumberland that now ys; the which indented with the Kyng that dede is, in the furste yere of his reigne, byfore that I kept the pryvye seall; and the said Erle indented not only for the kepyng of the said marches but also for the keping of the towne of Berwick at his hole costes and chargies; and as I remembre he had for the supportacion of the said chargeis three thowsand markes, or three thowsand powndes, I remembre not well whether; wherof the said King being wery, toke Berwick into his owne handes, and made Sir William Tyler Capitaigne thereof. And sens that tyme I trowe noo man indented for the keping of the said Borders for the tyme of werre.

I doubt not my lord it shalbe right necessary that the Kynges Grace make a warden for the Este and mydle marches, for it shalbe to muche for any oon persone to bere the burdeyn of all three marches in the tyme of werre; and it shalbe right expedient that he be a very hable man that shalbe wardeyn of the said Este and mydle marches in the tyme of werre: for uppon the Este marches

shalbe the moste busynesse of the werre; savyng that if my lord Dacre wold leve his sone and his brother uppon the weste marches, wherby the Scottes have not muche with a great army invaded those partyes, and lodge hym self in the Este marches, in myne opynyon, for the great experyence, acquayntance, and landes which he hath in Northumbreland, he shuld be right meit to kepe the said Este and mydle marches; and whoo soo ever shalbe now warden of them, he owght not to looke to have the fees that the said Erle of Northumbreland had; seyng that he had the said fees, as above is said, not only for the keping of the said Este and mydle marches, but also for the keping of the said towne of Berwick, which towne is nowe in the Kinges handes and at his propre costes and chargies; and in my pouer opynyon the fees that the said warden shall have owght, of reason, to be cessed much aftur the nowmbre of the Souldyers whiche he will bynde hym to have contynually attendante and servinge in the werre uppon the said borders.

And this is the knowelege that I have of the said entrepryse and indentures, with my pouer opynyon concernyng the Fees for the said warden in the tyme of werre; wherwith I beseche your grace to be contented, assuryng the same that yf I had any wryting concernyng the said entrepryse or Indentures for the werre, yf ye cowde noone other-

wyse have them, I wold rather bryng you them uppon my fote then ye shulde fayll of theme; as knowith our Lord whoo send your Grace as good prosperite and spede in all your causes as your own good harte wold wisshe. At Wynchestre this Thursday after ixth of the clock in the nyght.

Your humble preste and bedeman

R. WYNTON.

To my most syngular good lord, my lord Cardinall of Yorke, Chauncellor of England and Legate of the same.

LETTER CXV.

Richard Pace to Cardinal Wolsey, enclosing the transcript of a Paper shewing that the Duke of Albany and Richard de la Pole were come into Scotland to invade England.

[IBID. fol. 221. *Orig.*]

PLEASITT your Grace thys same houre arriuydde here a messenger off the Kyngis cūmyne owte off Lincolnsschire, and haith broght wyth hym a byll, intendynge to delivre the same vnto the Kynge assone as he conueniently maye. And because the Kyngis Grace was takynge hys rest at the cūmynge off the sayde messanger hydre, he schewede vnto me the sayde byll, whyche conteignyth strange newes: and no parte (as I do iugge) trewe off the

same, as your Grace schall perceve bi the copy off the sayde byll herinclosydde more at large.

The sayde messenger, namydde Wylliam gentilman, demaundydde bi Me, off whome he hadde the sayde byll, answerde, that itt was deliurydde vnto hym at Thorneton Abbaye in Lyncolne schire bi the cellarer off the place there, namydde Hutte, and thys sayde Hutte hadde the sayde byll off oon namydde Munforde, who ridies abowte the cuntreye namynge him selfe oon off the Kyngis messangers, and berith hys Grac's armis, and is no messanger in deade: as the sayde Wylliam gentilman reaportith, whoo haith also schewede vnto me, that at hys late beynge in Yorke schire, wythin thiese x. dayes, he harde there nother brute nor wurde off ony suche matiers as be comprisydde in the sayde byll. The King intendith to be at Wyndesore uppon Mundaye nexte ensuynge, Godde wyllynge, whoo preserve your Grace in longe helth and continuall prosperitie. Frome Redyng, thys Myghelmas daye. By your Grac's most humble and faythfull seruant. RI. PACE.

The Copy of the Byll corruptly wretyn in sum placs.

There be cūmyn in to Scotlande iiij. grete men, and they be in Dunbarre: the oon is namydde the Duke of Albanye, and the othre Richarde de la Pole, the thyrde is the Duke off Albanys brothre, the iiij. is Sir Mowncery Mowe, wyth whome ther is cūmyn

a greate cūpanye to the numbre off ij^{C}. that landyn ar wyth them. Whatt there meanynge is we can nott tell for there docowtis fast in Dunbarre for the borderers doith saye, wyth that theye wull make a felde wythin Scotlande. There purpose is to make oon off thiese men Kynge of Scotlande: for their be turnydde to them a greate multitude off Scotts.

Syr Christopher Dacar haith made hys proclamation at Carlile, that every man see for hym selfe and hys gooddis for a season. For Sir Christopher haith broghte awaye hys catalle in to Engylswodde wythin ij. milis off Perith. For the Scotts haith dryuen there gooddis farre in to there lande: for theye wull kepe no day off trewis. My lorde Dacar lyeth at Warke Castell uppon the border off Scotlande, for he haith made hys crye lyke as Sir Christopher haith doon: for he trusts.

The vj.^{to} daye off Auguste.

To my Lorde Legats Grace.

LETTER CXVI.

Sir William Bulmer to the Lord Treasurer, to apprize him of the Duke of Albany's march towards Englandd. Oct. *22*, 1523.

[IBID. fol. 429. *Orig.*]

PLEAS it your Lordship to knawe this day come to me Sir William Lisle, who shewith me that he spak

with a Scotishman that is verrey preve with the Duk of Albany, in so moche he hath thorderyng of the Comission made betwen the ffrenshe King and the Duk, which resiteth the Duk to be bounden to invaid the Realme of Englande vpon Tewisday next at the ferrest. And forther that Richerde Delapooll, callede in the same the Duk of Suffolk, shall invaid in lik maner with a certeyn nombre by the Duk of Albany his aduice. And notwithstanding if the said Richerd Dalapooll fortune to dye or be seke that he may not, yit the said Duk of Albany shall invaid. The said Sir William sawe the said Comission.

The said Scotishman hath promysed hym that from tyme to tyme, of the Duks provision and purpose he shal be acertayned, for the which he hath geven hym a large rewarde: and hath promysed hym more. Wherfor he wold knawe your lordship pleaser, whether he shall in sūche causes medle with hym or no, for except it stands with your lordship pleaser he woll not: and that he may have warrant from your lordship for the same.

The said Scot woll acerten hym, as he sath of every thing, when non other espiall canne, for he sath ther is no Scotishman shall haue any knawlege of the Duks purpos afore hym.

My lorde the said Sir William trusts, if it be your pleas^{r} to get you a sight of the said Comission, or ells a copie of it; or if it pleas youe to haue spech with

the said Scotishman, to come to your self. He sath as yit the Duk is uncom̄yn forth of Edinburgh. Albeit he thinks the Lorde Homylton and the lords kept their musters.

Suche newis as I haue by myn espiall, I send theym to your Lordship. I tho' theym of so small effecte that I wold not post theym unto your Lordship afore this tyme. My Lord I haue thre espialles at Edinburgh, bot as yit I haue no woorde from theym this thre days. I am affraed the chef of theym be either hanged, or som myschef fallen vpon hym: for he com to me when the water was byg, and left his hors on the Scotishsyde; and ther come Scots and took his hors, and had hym away. I sent hym ageyn, and gaf hym money to by hym ane other hors: bot sen I can not here of hym. Also as yet I here no thing nether of the Priores, Pete Sinkler, nor Sandy Trotter, and therfor I think thei have no thing to come withall bot as your lordship hath hard heretofor.

My Lorde, even in the tyme that I was writing this Lettre come to me one of myn Espiall wifes, and shewed me that hir husband was suspecte, so that he durst not come hymself. And she sayth playnly that the Duk and the lords is togethers and comyth forth of Edinburgh this same day. And that the Lorde Hoome is charged to kepe the Bordors for Espialls that non shall pass. Also she saith that the ffoote-

men and ordenance is comyn before: also he sent me woorde that the Lorde Bortik, whom he is kynsman to, shew it hym that the Duk wold begin eyther at Wark or Norham. Also the said Espiall sent me woorde that th'erl of Angueshe is comyn home, and that Davy Hoome is goon to the Duk; which neither of both I can belave: bot I acertain your Lordship as I here. I think the wedder hath been so that it wold suffre no man to passe by the See. Also he sent me woorde that the Duk hath apoynted the Lorde of Swynton to be Capten of Wark, and ane other to be Capten of Norham, bot she forgote the nayme of hym or she come to me: and purposes his self to be twenty days in Englande, and to plenneshe such holdes as he may get. My Lorde I think no nobleman wold speke suche ffoolish woords, and therfor I think it be not trewe. Also the said Espiall sath that the Lorde Bortek sent worde to George Vrde to put his cattell away, for thei perposed to ryn small forreys. My Lorde all that this Espiall hath, he hath it of the lorde Bortek, who hath comaunded hym to abide with hym and he shall put hym forth at ane ende of the host, with certen knawlege of euery thing.

My Lord, trewth it is Davy Home is gon to the Duk: for this night come Thom Nesbet to the water side and so shewid me: and said the Duk set forward from Edinburgh this day. And saith the

brut is that he woll come to Werk and Norham; the certante as yit is vnknowen therof. As our Lord knawth, who preserve your good lordship. Ffrom Norham the xxijth. day at night at sex of the clok.

W. BUEMER, K.

To my Lorde Tresourer.

LETTER CXVII.

Charles Duke of Suffolk to Cardinal Wolsey, in favour of the Priory of Coningshead in Lancashire.

[STAT. PAP. OFF. WOLSEY'S CORRESP. vol. xi. Pt. i. *Orig.*]

*** From this Letter it should seem that Coningshead Priory was proposed to Wolsey for suppression, preparatory to the foundation of his College at Oxford.

Our Monastic historians say but little of this Priory. It was founded in the reign of Henry the Second, by Gamell or Gabriel de Pennington, for a prior and seven black canons. Willis adds forty-eight servants; but these must have been at a later period. A charter of Edward the Second, printed in the Monasticon, details the names and gifts of those by whom this Monastery was gradually endowed. Its rents in full, according to Speed, in the 26th Hen. VIII., amounted to 124*l.* 2*s.* 1*d.* per annum: one of Dodsworth's manuscripts says that upon a second valuation the revenues amounted to 161*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.*

The present Letter speaks a volume as to the utility of the House in its local position: as well as to the good faith with which the religious who inhabited it maintained the purposes of its foundation. It was not suppressed among the smaller Monasteries.

Tanner makes no mention of the person to whom the site of this House was granted. Upon the "Originalia" records, 1 Edw. VI. we find an Instrument "pro homagio Joh. Machell et Will. Machell pro scitu nuper Prioratus de Conyngshed, pro. lic. inde fact." ro. cviij.

PLEAS it your Grace, so it is as I am enformed, vpon malice it is mocioned vnto your Grace to take into the Kingis handes amongs other for the good entended purpose the Pryory of Conyssed in the Countie of Lancastr, where I vnderstonde is not oonly good hospitalite kept and mayntened to the greate weale and comfourt of the countrey ther, but also the king is subgietts passing to and from thoes parties wher the House is situated, which is nigh vnto the wasshes, are greatly relevid and socored by the same by constitucon and ordynance of the said House, which the now Prior there doith right amply observe and accomplisshe, who is also of a good religiouse maner and of good and vertuous disposicon and lyving. And for asmuch as I know this is preferrid and shewid vnto your Grace expressely vpon malice, I am the more bolde to write vnto your Grace herin, besechïng the same to be good lorde and to extende your Graces ffauour vnto the said Priour herin, the better at this myn intercession, as my speciall trust and confidence is in your Grace. And that I may be aduertissed of your Grac's pleasure herin by the bringere. And thus or Lorde haue your Grace in his blissid tuicon. Ffrom myn honor of Eye the vijth. day of Aprill.

by your owne assured to my poer,

CHARLYS SUFFOLKE.

To my lorde Cardynal is Grace.

LETTER CXVIII.

Edward Baxter to Master Thomas Cromwell, to negotiate for some Ecclesiastical promotion for one of his sons, at present abroad.

[STAT. PAP. OFF. MISC. CORRESP. 2 *Ser.* vol. iv. fol. 9. *Orig.*]

*** Edward Baxter was mayor of Newcastle in 1517, and again in 1518, when Thomas Baxter was sheriff. Edward Baxter was again Mayor in 1522 and 1523. He writes to Cromwell as an entire stranger, ready to "do unto my Lord's Grace, and to him, such large pleasure as himself shall devise, according to the value of the promotion." Henry the Eighth found better chapmen among the merchants and people in trade, than amongst his nobility, when he came to sell ecclesiastical property.

RIGHT worshipefull S^{r} in mye vereye best maner I comend me too youre M^{r}shipe as vne acqwayntade. Please yt the same too be aduertised I have twoo sonnes beyonde see at Scoles at my great coste and chargs, and glade wolde bee too purveye fore one of theym sume goode spirituall lyvinge, too be Godds servaunte and a Man of Churche. And fore soo muche as I vnderstand ye be in good ffavors withe mye Lords grace, who haithe gyfte and collacione of manye goode promotions, I inteerelie desire zou too be soo goode mastere too me as to provyde me of some substanciall promotione fore one of mye saide sonnes at mye Lorde Cardinalls Grac's hand. And I shall note onelie beere and susteyne the chargs too be maid thervppon, but alsoo doo vnto mye lords

Grace and you suche large pleasure as your sylfe shall devyse, according too the valewe of the promotione. And of your Answeire herin I desire you bye this berar, and shall from tyme too tyme wryte you forther of my mind.* As the Holye Goost knowethe who ever kepe you. At Newcastle this Sancte Hillarie daye. Yo^r assured own vnacquaynted

EDWARD BAXTER

Merchant venturo^r.

Too the Right Worshipfull Mastere Thomas Cromewell servaunte to mye Lorde Cardinalls grace be this dd at London.

LETTER CXIX.

Richard Croke, the Duke of Richmond's schoolmaster; to Cardinal Wolsey, respecting the arrangements for his pupil's education.

[WOLSEY'S CORRESP. iii. 93. *Orig.*]

*** Richard Croke, one of the first restorers of the Greek language in England, was a native of London; bred at Eton School; and, in 1506, a scholar of King's College, Cambridge. He afterwards studied abroad for twelve years, at the expence of Archbishop Warham, in the Universities of Paris, Louvain, and Leipsic; whence returning an accomplished scholar, he succeeded Erasmus as Greek lecturer at Cambridge. He likewise became the public orator of that University.

His appointment as preceptor to the Duke of Richmond must have taken place about 1524.

In 1529 Henry the Eighth sent him to Italy to influence Padua and some of the other Universities in the business of the divorce. He was accused, on that occasion, of bribery; but bribes were of very common occurrence in the reign of Henry the Eighth; and how

little Croke was able to effect with them, will be seen from one of his Letters to the King hereafter.

On his return in 1532, he was made the third canon upon the re-foundation of Christ Church Oxford, but resigned in 1545, when he retired to Exeter College upon a moderate pension, and remained there for some years. Sir Thomas More and Pace recommended Croke strongly to the King for preferment, but he never obtained it. The only benefice he became possessed of was the living of Long Buckly in Northamptonshire.

Erasmus had early so good an opinion of Croke, that, knowing the straitness of his circumstances, and fearing that they might force him to desist from his studies, he wrote to Dean Colet to extend his liberality to him. The passage is worthy of perusal. "Si quas pecunias habes in manibus, in hoc commissas, ut dentur in subsidium, rogo mittas aliquot nobiles Richardo Croco, quondam ministro ac discipulo Grocini, qui nunc Parisiis dat operam bonis literis. Juvenis est bonæ spei, et in quem recte beneficium collocaveris, nisi me plane fallit animus." This was in 1513.[a]

Sir Thomas More admired Croke's epistolary writing. "Your Letters may, without fear, approach in the sight of any man."[b]

Croke, to the last, remained firm in the Roman Catholic religion. The time of his death may be taken from his will. It was dated the 21st, and proved the 29th of August, 1558.

His printed works, chiefly philological, are few; but most of them of extreme rarity. Of his "Orationes duæ, altera a cura, qua utilitatem laudemque Græcæ linguæ tractat, altera a tempore, qua hortatus est Cantabrigienses, ne desertores essent ejusdem," 4to. Lut. Par. 1520, Maittaire had seen but one copy, and that was in the Public Library at Cambridge.[c] There is an imperfect copy, which was Dr. Farmer's, in the British Museum. His "Introductiones in Rudimenta Græca," printed in the shop of Eucharius Cervicornius at Cologne in 1520, were dedicated to Archbishop Warham.

Many of his Letters, some of them hereafter to be referred to, are preserved in a volume of the Cottonian Manuscripts.

MOSTE humbely besechith your Grace your Orator

[a] Erasmi Epis. fol. Lugd. Bat. 1706. Ep. CXLIX.
[b] More's Life of Sir Tho. More, p. 70.
[c] Annal. Typ. tom. v. p. 317.

and daylie bedeman Richard Croke scole master to the Duke of Richmonde, that yt wolde please your Grace of your most habundant goodnes to directe yor most gracius lettres of comaundment unto my Lord of Richemonds Counsell comprysing these Articles followinge.

Ffirst the quantytie of tyme which I shall dayle occupie with my Lorde in lerenynge by your Grace appoyntid, the said Councell parmyt and suffer me to have accesse unto hym oone hower before masse and brekefast accordynge to your Grace's former comaundemente. The rest of the tyme of ynstruccyon of my saide Lorde to be taken at my discression, and as I shall parceyve most convenyent; and my saide Lorde moste apte to Lerne. Provided that no more tyme by me be occupied in oone daye then be your Grace shalbe appoyntid. Ne that I so remytt eny parte of the same, that thereby my Lordes lernynge may decay.

Seconde that where as my said Lorde is forced to wryte of his owen hande to abbotts and meane parsons contrary to your Grace's comaundement; and that ymedyatly after his dynner and repast taken; to the grete dullynge of his wytts sprytes and memory, and no litell hurte of his hed, stomak, and body; and that yt were very necessary in my poore judgement my said Lorde shuld wryte noo thyng of his owen hande but in Latten specially to the Kyngs

Highnes and your moste noble Grace, to thentent he myght more fermely imprynte in his mynde both wordes and phrases of the Latten tonge, and the soner frame hym to some good stile in wrytinge whereunto he is now very rype; yt wolde please your Grace therefore to determyn and appoynte both certayne persons, and also certayne tymes in the weke, to whome only, and when, my said Lorde shall wryte either in Englishe or in the Latten tonge, as your high wisdom shall thinke moste convenyente. Provided the said exersise of his hande and stile in both the tonges be commytted oonly to the discression and ordre of me his scole master: and that no man may force hym to wryte oonles I be there presente, to dyrecte and forme his said hande and stile.

Thirdely that where as by example of good education, as well in noryture as good lernyng, of suche yonge gentilmen as by your Graces comaundement be attendant upon my said Lorde, the same myght more facyly be induced to profit in his lerenynge, yt wolde please your Grace to gyve comaundemente that the Instruction of the said gentilmen be at the only order and disposicion of the scole master, so that they be streytely comaundid to applye their lernynge at such tymes as I shall thinke conuenient without mayntenaunce of eny man to the contrary. And also that none of them ne any other be sufferid to con-

tynue in my lordes chamber durynge the tyme of his lernynge, but such only as the said scole master shall thinke mete for the furtherance of the same.

Ffourthly, yt wolde please your Grace in likewise to comande that the tyme of my lordes lernynge by yor Grace appoyntid be not interupted for euery tryefull, or reasorte of euery stranger, but only strangers of honor, to whome also if my said lorde myght by the advise of his Scolemaster exhibit and make som shew of his lernyng, like as he was wont and doth of his other pastymes, it shulde greately encourage hym to his lernyng; to the which, bycause it is moste laborious and tedyous to children, his Grace shulde be moste specially anymated and encoraged.

Ffynally, that no wayes, color, ne crafte be taken to discorage, alyenate, or averte my said lordss mynde from lernyng, or to extyncte the love of lernynge in his estymacion, but that he be induced most highly to esteme his boke of all his other studies. The which thing with other the premisses obteyned, I dare be bolde to assure your Grace that his lernyng at the sight of your Grace shall with no litel tyme, and much pleasure of hymselff, farr surrmounte and passe the knowledge of his yeres, tyme, and age, noone excepte.

To my Lorde Legats good Grace.

LETTER CXX.

Gregory Cromwell to his father, Mr. Thomas Cromwell.

[STAT. PAP. OFF. MISC. CORRESP. 2 *Ser.* vii. 168. *Orig.*]

*** Two or three Letters are now presented to the reader from Gregory, afterwards Lord Cromwell, to his father. These, with two Letters from Henry Dowes, his latest preceptor, which follow, explain the system of education pursued at that time for boys in better life.

The date of Gregory Cromwell's birth is not recorded; but it could hardly have been earlier than 1520. For his infant training he was placed under the care of the Prioress of Little Marlow, in Buckinghamshire.

Dowes's Letters, being addressed to Cromwell as Secretary, must be placed in or about 1533 or 1534. They are put here, prematurely as to date, that they may accompany the Letters from Gregory Cromwell.

Most dere father, I humbly recomend me unto you, and hertily beseche you of yowr dayly blessyng, naturally bownden thayreunto; for the wiche, and other yowr manifowld benefittes to me colatyt, I am and schalbe yowr daly bedman, interely desyryng the contineweans of the same; trustyng soo to accomplysse and fulfyll yowr parentall comandments in the passage of myne erudicion, that yow, my good father, schall tharewith be ryght welcontentyd by Gods helpe, the wiche with hys grace hee send hus. Amen. Frome the howse of yowr bedman Mr. Doctor Lee thys Ester day in the mornyng.

By yowr vigelante sone

GREGORI CROMEWELL.

To hys Right worschipfull father Mr Thomas Cromewel at London.

LETTER CXXI.

Gregory Cromwell to his Father. A second Letter of duty.

[IBID. vii. fol. 169. *Orig.*]

RIGHT worschypfull father, I comend me un to you, desyryng you of youre dayly blessyng, sartyfying you that I am in good helth, wyth my cosens Bersfourd and Wellyfyd, thanks be unto God omnipotente, and apply. owre boks dylygently, as shall appere I trust to youre worschyp and owre proffyts. Father, I besetch you whan ye mett wyth the ryght honorable lorde of Oxforth, to geue thanks un to hys Lorchyp, for whan he came to a towne callyd Yeldam, to the parsons there of to hunte the foxe, he sente for me and my cossyns, and mad us good schere; and lett us see schuch game and plesure as I never saye in my lyfe; more over father, I besetch you to geve thanks to the for sayde parson of Yeldam, which sens I came in to the cuntry hath dyvers tymys sente for me and for my cossyns and mad us hygh schere, and schewyd us gret plesure. For all other thyngs consarnyng my rayment, I beseche you geve credens to my synguler good frende Mayster Doctor Lee. Thus Jhesu have you in hys kepyng. From [a]Topsfyld the xvii day of October. By your lowly sone

GREGORY CRUMWELL.

To hys ryght worschypfull father
Master Crumwell be thys yevne.

[a] Yeldham mentioned above, and Topsfield, both in Essex.

LETTER CXXII.

Gregory Cromwell, again to his Father.

[IBID. vii. 180. *Orig.*]

RYGHT worshypfulle father, as harte canne thynke or tong canne tell, I hartely comende me vn to you, beyng always desyrus to here of your prosperus helth and welfare, whych I pray Jhsu long contynwe to his pleasure, and to your moste gentillyste hartis desyre, &c. The cause of my wrytynge vn to you at thys tyme ys, to desyre you to send me your blessyng, which ys more treasure unto me then all the abundance of worldly goods; sertyfyinge you that I was in good helth at the makynge of thys letter, thankyd be God omnipotent, and doo apply my boke deligently, as I truste in God shall in process of tyme apere to my proffyte, and to your contentacion and worship. I have recevid the tokyne that you sent by Master doctor Bekynsall, unto whome I pray you gyve thanks, for at his beyng now at [a] Topsfylde bothe mad me gret cheare and all my fellos, and gave me a crone to spende. Wherfore, I beseche you father, have hym in your remembrance. Thus Jhesu preserve you in his goodnes. Frome Topsfylde the xxv day of October. By your lowly sone

GREGORI CRUMWELL.

To hys Right worshipfull father
Master Crumwell be thys yeven.

[a] Adam Becansawe was rector of Topsfield, from 1520, till his death in 1551.

LETTER CXXIII.

Henry Dowes, Gregory Cromwell's preceptor, to Secretary Cromwell. Details Gregory's advances in education.

[IBID. ix. 390. *Orig.*]

PLEASITH it your Maistershipp to be advertised that Mr Gregory with all his companie here ar (thankes be to God) in healthe; daylie occupied and embusied in the treyne and exercice of lerninge; under such maner and forme as there is no small hope the successe therof to be suche as shall contente and satisfie your good truste and expectation, beinge moche more lykelehodde of proffecte and encrease then att any tyme hertofore, partely for cause he is now brought sumewhat in an awe and dreade redy to gyve himself to studie when he shalbe therunto requyred, and partelie sithens thinges whiche hertofore have alienated and detracted hys mynde from labours to be taken for th'attaignement of good lettres are now subdued and withdrawne, wherunto (as a thinge nott of leaste momente and regarde) may be addyde the ripenes and maturitie of his wytte; whiche nott beinge of that hasty sorte that by and by do bringe forth theire frute, doth dailie growe to a more docilitie and apte redines to receyve that that shalbe shewyd him by his teachers. The order of

his studie, as the houres lymyted for the Frenche tongue, writinge, plaienge att weapons, castinge of accomptes, pastimes of instruments, and suche others, hath bene devised and directed by the prudent wisdome of Mr Southwell; who with a ffatherly zeale and amitie muche desiringe to have hime a sonne worthy suche parents, ceasseth not aswell concerninge all other things for hime mete and necessary, as also in lerninge, t'expresse his tendre love and affection towardes hime, serchinge by all meanes possible howe he may moste proffitte, dailie heringe hime to rede sumwhatt in thenglishe tongue, and advertisenge hime of the naturell and true kynde of pronuntiacon therof, expoundinge also and declaringe the etimologie and native signification of suche wordes as we have borowed of the Latines or Frenche menne, not evyn so comonly used in our quotidiene speche. Mr. Cheney and Mr. Charles in lyke wise endevoireth and emploieth themselves, accompanienge Mr. Gregory in lerninge, amonge whome ther is a perpetuall contention, strife, and conflicte, and in maner of an honest envie who shall do beste, not oonlie in the ffrenche tongue (wherin Mr. [a]Vallence after a wonderesly compendious, facile, prompte, and redy waye, nott withoute painfull delegence and laborious industrie doth enstructe them) but also in writynge, playenge at wea-

[a] Peter Vallensys, the same person, is mentioned in Palsgrave's "Eclarcissment de la Langue Françoyse," as the schoolmaster for the French tongue, about that time, to Henry Brandon, Earl of Lincoln, son and heir apparent to Charles Duke of Suffolk.

pons, and all other theire exercises, so that if continuance in this bihalf may take place, whereas the laste Diana, this shall (I truste) be consecrated to Apollo and the Muses, to theire no small profecte and your good contentation and pleasure. And thus I beseche the Lord to have you in his moste gratious tuition. At Reisinge in Norff the last daie of Aprill.

Your faithfull and most bounden servaunte

HENRY DOWES.

To his right honorable maister Mr Thomas Crumwell chief Secretary vnto the King's Maiestie.

LETTER CXXIV.

Henry Dowes to Secretary Cromwell, with further details.

[IBID. fol. 40. *Orig.*]

AFTER that it pleased your Maistershipp to give me in charge not onlie to give diligent attendaunce uppon Maister Gregory, but also to instructe hime with good lettres, honeste maners, pastymes of instrumentes, and suche other qualities as sholde be for hime mete and conveniente, pleasith it you to understande that for the accomplishement therof I have indevoured myself by all weys possible to invent and excogitate howe I might moste profett hime, in whiche bihalf thorowgh his diligence the succesee is suche as I truste shalbe to your good contentation and pleasure, and his no smale profecte. But forcause

somer was spente in the servyce of the wylde goddes it is so moche to be regarded after what fashion yeouth is educate and browght upp, in whiche tyme that that is lerned (for the moste parte) will nott all holelie be forgotten in the older yeres, I thinke it my dutie to asserteyne yo^r^ Maistershippe how he spendith his tyme, so that if there be any thinge contrary your good pleasure, after advertisment receyved in that behalf it may be amended. And firste, after he hath herde Masse he taketh a lecture of a Diologe of Erasmus Colloquium, called Pietas puerilis, whereinne is described a veray picture of oone that sholde be vertuouselie brought upp, and forcause it is so necessary for hime I do not onelie cause him to rede it over, but also to practise the preceptes of the same, and I have also translated it into Englishe, so that he may conferre theime both to githers, wherof (as lerned men affirme) cometh no smalle profecte; whiche translation pleasith it you to receyve by the bringer herof, that ye may judge howe moche profitable it is to be lerned: after that, he exerciseth his hande in writing one or two houres, and redith uppon Fabian's Chronicle as longe; the residue of the day he doth spende uppon the lute and virginalls. When he rideth (as he doth very ofte) I tell hime by the way some historie of the Romanes or the Greekes, whiche I cause him to reherse agayn in a tale. For his recreation he useth to hawke and hunte, and shote in his

long bowe, which frameth and succedeth so well with hime that he semeth to be therunto given by nature. My Lorde contineweth, or rather daily augmenteth his goodnes towardes hime. Also the gentle men of the country, as Sir John Dawne, Sir Henry Delves, M^r. Massey, M^r. Brereton baron of the Kinges Escheker there, and diverse other so gently hath interteigned hime that they seme to strive who shold shew hime moste pleasures; of all whiche thinges I thowght it my dutie to asserteigne your good Maistershipp, most humblie desirenge the same to take in good parte this my rude boldnes. And thus I pray the Trinitie longe to preserve yo^r good health with encrease of moche hono^r. At Chester the vj^th daie of Septembre. Your humble servaunte

HENRY DOWES.

To his moste worshipfull Maister
M^r Secretaire.

LETTER CXXV.

Stevyn Gardyner to Card. Wolsey. The King declines going to the More upon the Cardinal's invitation, the "Swet" having lately prevailed in its neighbourhood; but in the stead will go to Tittenhanger, another of the Cardinal's seats.

[STAT. PAP. OFF. WOLSEY'S PAPERS, vol. v. p. 92. *Orig.*]

PLEASITH it your Grace to vnderstande that re-

ceyving your lettres yester night late I shewed the contenue of them and also red the same vnto the Kings Highnes this mornyng, saving the latter parte concernyng the lettres of the King of Denmarke. And where as your Grace in the secoand parte of your lettre wrote howe glad ye wolde be to receyve the Kings Highnes at the More, at that point his Highnes said that synnes his determination to goo thither he was aduertised howe at Rikemansworth and other townes aboute the More, certain this yere, and of late, have had the Swet; the oonly name and voyce wherof is soo terrible and fearful in his Highnes eeres that he dare in noowise approch vnto the place where it is noysed to have been, and that therfor his Highnes will not goo thither, but in the stede of that goo to Titennehanger, and take such chere of your Grace there as he shulde have had at the More; mynding according to his former gifts to departe from Barnet on Saterday cuñe sevennight, and after dyner to goo that night to Titenhanger, and there to be Sondaye al daye, and Monday after brekfast to departe. I said I thought Tytenhanger to lyte to receyve nis Highnes. Wherunto his Highnes answerd that your Grace as he doubted not ye wolde removing for the tyme with your company to Saint Albons, it shulde serve of the while he wolde tarye there. Which resolution his Grace willed me to signifie vnto you.

Your Grace's lettres to Master Strangwish wer very well and thankefully accepted of al parties.

Other lettres or newes here be noone, but that the Kings Highnes is mery, thanked be God, who preserve your Grace.

At Waltham the iiij day of August.

Your Grac's most humble and dayly bedeman

STEVEN GARDYNER.

To my lorde Legates good Grace.

LETTER CXXVI.

Dr. Sampson to Cardinal Wolsey, from Madrid, chiefly relating to Wolsey's opening Charles the Fifth's Ambassador's Letters, previous to the battle of Pavia.

[MS. COTTON. VESPAS. C. III. fol. 129. *Orig.*]

PLEAS it your Grace, the twenty second day off Marche in the morning arryvid here Rogier Basing the Kinges servant with letters from his Highnesse off his own hande to thEmperors maiestie, and lykewyse from your Grace to the sam, with your Graces lettirs allso to me off the twenty-first day of February. I received allso thEmperors othir lettirs from thambassador there, to my Lady Margarete, and othir; a copie off your Graces lettirs to my Lord of Bathe; copies, to Mr. Secretarie, and from him to the Kinges Highnesse and your Grace; to Sir John Russell, off

instructions gevyn to Sir Gregorie Cassalls; off newis off Fraunce, off thaffayres off Italie sent to Joachin.

The twenty fourth day I was with his Majestie; for the twenty-third his Maiestie was all the day in recreations now aftir his syknesse. I delyveryd the Kinges lettris with recommendations according, and in lyke maner your Graces; and after that his Maiestie had redde them both, according to your Graces lettris, I schewid his Maiestie off the interception off his Ambassadors lettres there, declaring all the maner at lenth, assuring his Maiestie that othir maner was not prepensyd in no maner off wyse. And because it schuld the more clerely apeare, I gave his Maiestie translatyd in to Latin the maner of the interception, that it might be torned into Frenche, for his Maiesties more perfyct undyrstonding, with daungiers allso that might chaunce be such an Ambassador, and so much as I thought was sufficient with your Graces lettris and othir declaration that I made be mowithe. The copie off the writting, I send here enclosyd to your Grace. Themperor aunsword no more, but that he was very gladde to know from the King his brodyr, and was sory that his Ambassador had not behavyd hym otherwyse; he was allso right sory that his lettris ware so interceptid, and was glad that the interception was noon othirwyse. Notwithstonding aftir this interception be such a chaunce, he marveylid that his othir gevyn to the Fulkars ware

restreynid be evident force, syns that the takers off the first lettris, how so evyr it was, ware right worthy punisment. To that I aunsword that your Grace now be this chaunce perceyving the sinistre mynde off thambassador, thowght that the othir lettris ware no bettir. Wherfor onlesse that the reporte off thos lettris might percase doo som great hurte in the mean tyme for the feithfull service that your Grace at all tymes hath owght to his Maiestie and his affayres, and with all your power to interteyne to entiere love that is betwix his Maiestie and the King my mastre, thowght it best to stoppe allso thos lettris tyll that his Maiestie ware advertysid be the King my mastre and your Grace of these demeanors and daungiers. His Maiestie seyd, that rathir he wold have thowght it more convenient to send his fyrst lettris so takyn to his Ambassador ageyne. Nor his Ambassadors words what so evyr they schuld be coude cause hym to have any maner off suspition, espetially agenst the King his brodyr; nor yet agenst your Grace; as dyvers tyms els his Maiestie had seyd to me. And be the withholding off his Ambassadors lettris, he is not oonly ignorant off thaffayres off Englond but off dyvers other advertisements that he schuld have be his seyd Ambassadors lettris.

In this matir he wold speke with his counseill, and so gyve aunswor. I schewid his Maiestie allso, thow it ware now past be the othir newis off the victorie,

that the Chauncelier off Monsieur de Alanson, was com well instructyd, and as it semyd with convenient offres for the fyrst schew wold have entred well and roundly. His Maiestie seyd that before iff he ware so myndyd to doo, now he wold much more as he hath cause.

The twenty fifth day off Marche arryved here the gentyllman that brought the newis to the Kinges Highnesse and your Grace off this victorie, be whom I received lettris gratulatorie both from the Kinges Highnesse and your Grace to his Maiestie.

The which lettris the same aftir noon I delyveryd with as good wordes as I might. His Maiestie was right gladde of the lettris, for he was desyros to know from the Kinges Highnesse aftir the reporte of this victorie. And was very glad allso that the Kinges Highnesse wold in bryfe send an especiall personage for the sam, for twyse he rehersyd there before certeine off his counseill that schortly he schuld have an honorable person off Englond especially sent. I schewid his Maiestie allso that be the seyd personage his Maiestie schuld know more off the King my mastyrs intent off all thinges at leinth. But yn the mean tym the King my mastre was most desyros to know his Maiesties forther pleasor what he schuld think best to be doon forthermore yn thes matirs, for the King my mastre preparyd to be in a redynesse, what wey so evyr his Maiestie wold folow, wherfor most humbly

I besowght the sam that I might know his pleasour with diligence to advertyse the Kinges Highnesse and your Grace off the sam. His Maiestie seyd that he wold commune thes matirs now with his counseyll and schortly gyve aunswer. I put ageyne in remembrance the matir off his Ambassador there, most humbly beseching his Maiestie well to consydre his demeanour not oonly for the tym past, but allso what daungier may ensue off such a personage, with his sinistre mynde and interpretations, yff that he schall contynu his Ambassador there, and on the othir syde, to have in remembrance what desyros mynde your Grace hath had at all tyms to doo his Maiestie the most honorable service that you might. And now what so evyr hath beyn els reportyd, his Maiestie schulde well perceyve be such copies off lettris off I wold gyve to his Maiestie that your Grace hath usyd as much diligence and means for the succurring and mainteyning off his affayres at this tym in Italia as might be studied or devysid.

His Maiestie seyd that he nevyr had ony maner of suspition agenst the King his brodyr, or evyr wold have, for wordes or reportes off ony persons lyving tyll that he schall perceyve the thing evidentlye, the which he nevyr trusteth to doo nor yet hath suspectid it more or lesse. For he belevith hym to vertuose in any maner off wyse to change his mynde afftir such entiere amitie and love as hath passyd betwix them

too: with such causys as they have allso to knette them to gethirs and so to continw. I addyd that his Maiestie might trust no lesse good mynde in your Grace towardes hym and his affayres, and to doo his Maiestie all the service that you might, as to the King my mastre, knowing them so joynd with entiere love, and matirs off necessarie concurrence, and off this your good mynde both now at this tym, and all othir, your Grace hath gevyn large experience. His Maiestie seyd that agenst your Grace he nevyr hath had suspicion, thow that som thinges hath ben doon there much to the hynderance off his affayres, notwithstanding wordes that your Grace hath spokyn many tyms hath not sowndyd best, the which hath allso causyd his Ambassador both to writ and suspecte the more largely. Yet neverthelesse he acceptith your Grace for his very frende, syns that you are so feithffull a servant to the King his brodyr; for he that is feithffull to the oon, cannot be othirwise to the othir, ther amitie and affayres being both as oon. Notwithstanding he seyd that he perceyvith nothing in his lettirs interceptid, the which I had before delyveryd to his Maiestie, that schuld move your Grace so much, owthir agenst his Ambassador or to cause his othir lettirs to be revokyd and restreynd. And he dowtith not but iff that he wold so intercept Ambassadors lettirs, many tyms he schuld fynde wors wordes. And whatsoevyr that he wrot to othir men,

your Grace may be well assuryd, that his Maiestie intendith not to revenge ony thing upon your Grace, but to do you all the pleasour that he may.

I schewid his Maiestie allso off the four principall poinctis of the charge of Monsieur de Bevers and his companie, whereoff his Maiestie was well advertysid before. And aunsword to no mo then the last. That his brodyr was desyryd in hostage with certeine towns, for delyverance off my Lady Princes. And that his brodyr was emancipate, so that now he had no such power in him to gyve hym in hostage. As towching the Towns, thambassadors seyd, they had no such commission, nor for that tym coude speke in it more. To this, Sir, I seyd off myn own mynde that sche is the oonly childe and heyre off the reaulme; and that this was not demaundyd for ony mystruste off his Maiestie but his Maiestie was mortale, God gyve hym long lyfe, and iff any thing schuld fortune to hym before the mariage as sche is yet yong, the King and his counseyll wold have hyrre suyrly restoryd. And thus I departid.

Monsieur de le Schaulx is now from hens ambassadour in to Portugale, as it is seyd to bring from thens the Quenes dowtyr, the which at hyrre departing sche lefft there.

At the commyng of thes newis throw France off the victorie, the Frenche Kinges modyr wrot both to th'emperor, Monsieur de Massan, and le Schaulx,

the copies wheroff I send here enclosyd to your Grace. I assure your Grace, there was no maner of knowleg here off the Kinges intente to eyde thEmperors armie with money tyll now be thes lettris, but off the fifty thousand crownes to be gevyn aftir the batayle, the which was not much estemid, for oon crowne before, they estemyd more then forty afftir.

Monsieur de Meux is now passid from hens throw France into Italie, to know what towardnesse may be fownde in them off France to such conditions as now schalbe demandyd be themperor for his own partie, and Monsieur de Burbon. And towching the Kinges Highnesse, that owthir he be fully restoryd, or els agreyd with hym to his satisfaction.

I have ben, Sir, with the chyffe off the counseill here, as well to declare your Graces diligence in thEmperors affayres now in the tym off nede, with as much studie and good means as might be devysid; not omitting the particulartes off the sam, as well towardes the Pope, Venetians, and with eyde of money, the which was not so known here before; as allso to schew them the clere maner of interception off thEmperors lettris with the malicius demeanour of th'ambassador, and great inconveniences that may ensue be such a man. And Sir, as touching your Graces diligence and singulier good studie and means for the eyde of thEmperors affayres, withowght fayle both thEmperor and all thes off his counseyll, are es-

pecially content with the sam, graunting that it was a very loving and feithffull demeanor; and off the lettris concerning the Pope they knew before that it was an espetiall helpe, for before the Pope was in dispeyre off the King and all Englond, and the Venetians allso. And for ther bettir knowleg; I gave them the chyffe off your Graces lettirs translatid as I might in hast, the copie wheroff I send here enclosyd to your Grace. And as concerning the interception off the lettirs they esteme it, Sir, for a very grevos matir, as well for the deade off the sellff, as the rumor that schuld aryse off the sam to the enemies, and all othir places. And allso they sey assurydly that the currier with thes lettirs being an Ynglis man, was takyn be M. More's servantes, and so both he and the lettirs closse ware browght be M. More to your Grace. This the felow sworne uppon a boke, hath confessyd before three honest persons. The which causith them assurydly to conjectour that a pakett of lettirs delyveryd to M. Tuke for my lady Margarete, was first takyn and redde and upon suspition had be thos lettirs, thes othir to th Emperor, de Industria ware thus interceptid. This is reportid and belevid here for triewith. Notwithstonding, Sir, that I have usyd all the means possible, to induce the triewith that your Grace wrot to me into there myndes. And, sir, othir aunswer or writting is not made in this matir as I may perceyve, but be such lettirs as

themperor writtith now off his own handè, to the Kinges Highnesse and your Grace. With credence gevyn to the sam gentyllman that browght the newis in to Englond, who now is sent ageyne, as I may understonde with a charge fyrst to repare to the Kinges Highnesse and what his instructions be forther, I am not sure nor pryvie, but as it semith thEmperor remittith all the hole matir to the Kinges Highnesse and his judgement.

Wherfor, Sir, I have gevyn charge to this bearare the Kinges servante, to prevente hym in England, that your Grace might be first advertisyd. And they confesse here that there was much indiscrenesse in th'ambassador so to writ. And that he is worthy much blame. But for this tym in no maner of wyse they wyll here of his removing from thens. But oon that owith his service to your Grace schewid me, that iff your Grace wold dissimule the matir for three or four monithis, means might be fownde to change hym. For they sey now to change hym, coude not sownde but to thEmperors dishonour, much and great schame to his Ambassador. But so he schalbe admonischid that from hensforth he nowthir schalbe so light off suspitions with thEmperors most espetiall frendes, nor yet so indiscrete off his wordes. Othir remedie, sir, I perceyve not for this tym in no maner of wyse.

Themperor is very desiros off the personage that

schuld com now. And before his commyng and knowleg of his charge, thEmperor wyll not declare his farther mynde. Notwithstonding I seyd, that iff it might pleas his Maiestie to advertise to the King my mastre off his farther purpos and intente, the matirs might be set forth in convenient tyme or els the tym of this personages commyng hithir, and retorne from hens ageyne into Englond schuld passe ovyr the best of the yere. Neverthelesse I knew that the King my mastyr, preparyd every thing to be in a rydinesse. It was answorde, that ther schuld remayne tym sufficient to make such an entree, that th'armies before the hard tym of the yere might wynne loginges in the enemies grownde; and in this mean tym, the myndes off them off Fraunce schalbe knowne how they schalbe inclyned, and therafter, thEmperour and the King may ordre there affayres; oon thing, Sir, I allso perceyve that wher as the Kinges Highnesse desirith to have the eyde theroff three thousand horsemen, and certeine fotemen as they have schewed me, and to have for the enterteynance off them from hens oon hundred or fifty thousand Ducates ther is no maner of trust now to opteyne it nor yet to have the ordinare garnitions there, except it be for the joyning off a batayle, iff they be there where they may be had in tym for they think that the Kinges Highnesse schuld make the reste off any conqueste with his own charge, having

all the favour off thos parties els that may be, and allso they sey that themperor wyll not oonly enterteine his armie of Italie entierely, but allso make a great puissant entree be this syde, iff such cace schall require be the obstinacie off Fraunce.

I send thes othir lettirs allso to your Grace be cause they ware written before to send when so evyr I might fynde occasion, with copies off lettirs allso writtin from the French Kinges modyr to thEmperor. Monsieur de Massan, and Monsieur de la Schaulx.

I send here allso a boke printid in Spanis to your Grace off this victorie, but here it is seyd, that Monsieur de Aloison is now retornd into Fraunce, and that assurydly Richard de la Pole is slayne there. I writ thes othir lettirs to the Kinges Highnesse with the same boke, and copies off the Frenche lettirs as knowith our Lord who preserve your Grace in most prosperos helth and honour. At Madryd the first day of Aprill 1525.

Your most humble bedeman

RICHARD SAMPSON.

LETTER CXXVII.

Archbishop Warham to Sir Thomas Boleyn and Sir Henry Guldeford, respecting the Contribution demanded from the People of Kent to enable the King to go upon his expedition to France.

[MS. COTTON. CLEOP. F. VI. fol. 347. *Orig.*]

I COMMEND me hartely to you. So it is that such persons as ye and others the Kinges Graces Commissioners deputed to enduce the Kings Graces loving subjecties of Kent to graunte contribution to the Kinges Highnes passing with a noble armey into Fraunce, hath been before me at diverse tymes, according to suche commaundment as ye and they gave to theyme. To whome at ther commyng I shewed that the common reaporte was, that they hadd bannded and promised emonges thaymeselfes, that noone of thayme should pay any loving contribution to the Kinges Grace, the whiche thay have utterly denyed; to whom I shewed that in caas thay hadd so promised or banded, and at any tyme herafter it might so be proved before the Kinges moost noble Grace or his honorable Counsell they might be right well assured it shuld cooste thayme thaire lives. And they aunswred me that they wer right well contented so to be ordred, if any such demeanour shall herafter be proved ayenst theym.

After this I shewed theym, that if they orels the most parte of theyme wold denye at this tyme to make contribution to the Kinges Hieghnes, ther is no wise man but wool thinke that they have made bandds and promises, and that it apperith, seing they be thus vntowards that they be lincked together, for commonlye they aggreid in oon aunswer. Albeit they denyed it, and said that they never indeed steryd, exhorted, or advised any person to the not paying of the Kinges Graces demaund, ne never lincked themselfes together.

This doone I shewed to thayme th'effecte of the Kinges Grac's Instructions declaring at large how that the Kinges Hieghnes hathe speciall truste in Kentishemen above al other, forasmoche as his Grace was born in Kent. If they shuld now at this tyme withdrawe or use any untowardnes in this behalfe, considering that the Frenche King and the moste parte of his nobles be in captivitie or els slayne in bataile, and the Kinges Grace having suche oportunitie as hath not ben seen a long tyme, peradventur his Grace might take of their unkindnes suche inward thowght (as God forbed) that all Ingland shuld it repent, to the greate rebuke of theym and thair kynne they come of, and to the utter reproche and confusion of this Realme.

I shewed also to theym, that the Kinges Grace will take their denayes hevely considering that all

other Princes thinkithe verely nowe that the Kinges Grace will use this oportunitie of tyme, and if his subjectes shuld now as far as in theym is in not advauncyng suche sommes as be demaunded, lett his Grace not to use this oportunytie which belike shall never be seen agayne, they shuld be occasion of loosing of Fraunce and causors of moo inconveniences then theire wittes can perceive. And in denying of the said contribution they deserveth to fall in the Kinges Graces perpetuall displeasure, whiche wer to hevy for thayme to beare. Whereunto they aunswered that they have as good and loving myndes as any subjectes shuld have to thaire Prince. And if their goodes wer according to thair good willes, they would never denye to pay the demaund, and many of thayme have declared how they wer decayed with weping tearys in theire yeis. To whom I said that they bear not to the Kinges Hieghnes suche love according to thair allegaunce as they spoke of: for if they loved their Prince, they wold not sticke at this demaund. Their deydes should prove ther love; but wher be noo deydes of kindnes, ther is noo love.

I sayd also that seing they will not be enduced by gentylnes of the Kynges Graces Commissioners dwelling amonges thayme, neither by me theire ordinary, neither for the duetie which they owe to thaire naturall Prince to graunte this demaund, I marvel

they wer not ashamed to say they loveth their Prince, wher they will nothing do for hym, specially in suche oportunytie of tyme as this is.

Over this I shewed unto theym that I muste remytt theym according to the Kinges Graces instructions to the Kinges Hieghnes and his honorable Counsaile. And in going frome thaire habitations and dwelling places thither, in geving attendaunce thair, and in returning home agayne, they shuld spend as moche money as their contributions shuld amounte unto; wherby it appered, that they lacked witt, kindnes, or grace. But theis meanes and many other cold not enduce thayme to graunt suche sommes as wer demaunded.

Ther wer many before me whiche I thought that other for love or feare they wold be enduced by me; but they regarded my saying nothing: whome herafter if they have neyde of me I shall in lykewise regard theym, and so I shewed thaym. Albeit many of theym alleging greate povertie and decaye in their gooddes, wer contented to make lesse graunte then was demaunded; saying, if they might have reasonable dayes they will contribute according to ther value that they be nowe; but what trust is to be geven to their sayinges I cannot tell. To whome I shewed that I hadd noo auctoritie to accept it.

And wher they excused thaymeselves by povertie that they were not able to pay according to the said

demaund, I shewed theym that if at any tyme hereafter it may appere that they, or any of theyme, in tyme of this contribution wer able to pay the said demaund, that then considering their untreuth towardes ther Prince, their bodies shuld be commytted to prison and their gooddes forfecteid to the King; wherwith they said they wer contented if it mought be so proved. And to th'entent they shuld not varye frome their sayinges concerning ther poverties, I caused ther sayinges to be writen and subscribed wythe ther handes, which shall bynd theym hereafter.

In good faith I thinke ther is a great povertie in Kent and lacke of money, as hath been seen many yeres, or els theis men be too untrewe. For they allegid before me (as I thinke they have don befor you) many mervelous decayes as well in gooddes as in catalles; and some in brennyng of their barnes and other howses with stuff therin; and some by shrowd debtors be defrauded bi reason of protections; and some saith that in paying this demaund, they should not be able to fynde thair wifes and childre, but shuld be dreven to send theym a begging, and so to geve up their fermes. To whom I said that though they alleged suche poverties befor me, I hadd no auctoritie by the Kinges Graces instructions to allow it, but only to enduce theym to be conformable to this demaund.

Item I shewed to theym, that in caas the Kinges Hieghness wold not at this tyme passe into Fraunce, or els by any meanes mought be browght abowte any wey of honorable peace, his Grace entendith to conserve and save the said demaund to be restored unto theym agayn. And they aunswerd, that I and other the Kinges Graces Commissioners, promised that they shuld be repayed long or this tyme of the first Loone, and that be shewed theym that we hadd suche enstructions of the Kinges Grace so to promesse, and as yet they have receyved nothing of the said Lone. And though we promise theym in lykewise at thys tyme, yet they saithe they thinke verely they shall have no more repayd of this, then is repayed of the Lone. To whome I shewed, that though payment be differred, bi reason of the great charges which the Kinges Grace hathe susteyned, yet it is not to be thought or doubted but his Grace will make payment lovingly with thankes to theym for the forbearing of the same.

Item I have writen to diverse the Kinges Graces Commissioners, that they shuld endevor theymselfes secretely to make espialles whether any persons in those partes make any Conventicles or Assembles; specially this holydayes and this whote wether; which thorow idlenes and lightnes of ther wittes mought make busynes. And in caas they shall see any suspicion therof that they do the best they can to

represse it, and to ponishe the chief assemblers of theym, and to advertise me therof furthwith, to th'entent I may helpe to the same, and if neyde require to advertise the Kinges Hieghnes and his honorable Counsell thereof. And I have writen also if the spyalles be not secrete, and this matier verey secretly handled, ther might folowe therby more harme then good.

Item I have been in this Shire twentie yeres and above, and as yet I have not seen men but wold be conformable to reason, and wold be enduced to good ordre, tyll this tyme. And what shuld cause theym now to fall into this wilfull and indiscrete wey I cannot tell, excepte povertie and decaye of substaunce bee cause of it. For povertie causeth moche myschefe, some to robbe, some to murdre, some to oppresse other; and hard it is to enduce a wilfull and indiscrete multitude to any reason, which will folowe their wittes, and no wisedome ne yet good counsell.

I have now writen unto you bothe the exhortations which I used unto theyme, and their demeaner and aunswers to the same; whiche ye may shewe unto the Kinges Grace and his honorable Counsell, if ye shall thinke it requisite. Praying you to knowe the Kinges Graces pleasure, and my Lord Cardinalles mynde, whether it shalbe their pleasures that any of the said untoward persones shall appear before the

Kinges noble Grace and his honorable Counsell, according to the Instructions, and at what day, at what place, and in what nomber.

If of every hundred wer sent some of the chief wringleathars to be enduced by the Kinges Hieghnes and his honorable Counsell, I thinke other persons which shall make ther demore at home will the soner be enduced. And to procede to examine theyme that shall paye of thar landes or moveables frome twenty pounds downeward, tyll thoes that be now examined wilbe enduced and agreable to this demaund, I thinke it shuld not be profitable. For alwayes enducyng and examining, and litle or nothing availing, is but losse of tyme. For suche povertie, people that be of litle substaunce, and have but litle to loose, carith litle what busynes they make; and wolbe more ready to do myscheif than they that hath somewhat. For many of theyme be as desperates, and more wrecched then they be nowe they cannot lyeghtly bee. Therefore they care not to seke further fortune and chaunce.

Seing men grudgeth to be towardes in graunting, it is to be feared they will make more murmur and busynes in the tyme of payment.

At the commyng of other persons appoincted by the Kinges Graces Commissioners to be afore me this nexte weike, which as I understand is a great multitude, if I can any thing perceive of theyme

worthy writing, I shall send you word therof furthwith; and in all thinges that I may know the Kinges Graces pleasure, I shalbe gladd to accomplishe the same to the best of my power as God knoweth. At Otford the xvth day of Aprile.

WILLM. CANTUAR.

To my loving frendes Sir Thomas Boleyne Knight Thesaurer of the Kinges Graces most honorable Howshold, and Sir Henry Guldeford Knight Comptroller of the same, and to every of theym.

LETTER CXXVIII.

Archbishop Warham to Cardinal Wolsey. The state of Kent in regard to the "Amicable Grant" demanded by the King's Commissioners, preparatory to the same intended Voyage.

[COTTON MS. CLEOPATRA, F. VI. fol. 339. *Orig.*]

*** Hall, in the 16th of Henry the Eighth, 1525, gives a long account of the Commissions which were sent into every shire to raise money against the time the King should pass the sea; and "the tenor was this," he says, "that the sixth part of every man's substance should, without delay, be paid in money or plate to the Kyng, for the furniture of his war."

The Cardinal, as chief commissioner for London, undertook to carry on the negotiation for this proposed "AMICABLE AND LOVING GRANT," for so it was called,[a] with the Mayor and Commonalty of

[a] When money was to be obtained, Wolsey usually found some name which was thought appropriate to the demand. In the 15th of Henry the Eighth, Hall says, "While the Duke of Suffolk was in France, and the Earl of Surrey in the Marches

the Metropolis; the Archbishop of Canterbury was to be the chief commissioner for Kent; the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were to treat in the Eastern part of the Kingdom; and others, every where chief men, in other Counties.

The point which the King dwelt most upon in his Instructions to his Commissioners was the complete conquest of France. The victory of Pavia, he said, had given an opportunity not to be lost. His mortal enemies were either slain or remained in captivity. France was barren, destitute, and unprovided of men of war, strength, or power. Almost all other Princes and Potentates of Christendom were ready to join and concur with his Highness. The realm of France, "by the purveyance of God, and in manner the consent of the World," was offered to him.

"His Highness had lever to be out of his life, as Almighty God forbide, or ells all those of his subjects that have ether hart, corage, zeale, mynde, love, or disposicion to God, to peax, to honour, to their most benigne and most gracious soverain lord and prince and to the Realme of England, must of good congruence now shewe the same or never. Straynyng them selfs unto th'uttermost to do all the gratuite to theym possible unto so excellent a purpose."

In the present, and in one or two other Letters relating to this Commission, which follow, the murmurs of the people are disclosed in all their variety. So large a demand, without the sanction of a Parliament, was deemed monstrous. "They speak cursedly," says Archbishop Warham, "as far as they dare."

But the total reduction of France, so dwelt upon in Henry's Instructions, was by no means a favourite object with the people at large. The army abroad could not but for the most part be supported by treasure sent from England, whilst the nobles and gentry who accompanied the King were obliged to expend the revenues of their land in a foreign country: nor could there be wanting those who foresaw that complete success might one day or other cause the seat of government itself to be transferred to France.

With the army there was no want of commemoration, at this time, of former glory. In an "Address to King Henry the Eighth for a

of Scotland, the Cardinal sent out Commissions, in the month of October, through the realme, that every man that was worth forty pounds should pay the whole subsidy before granted, out of hand, and before the days of payment. This payment was called an ANTICIPATION, which is to say, a thing taken or a thing coming before his time or season. This term was new to the Cominaltie, but they payd well for their learning, for their money was paid out of hand without delay."

body of Laws to be made in Latin," MS. Reg. Brit. Mus. 18 A. IV., the writer says, "For the Victorye that God gave to your most valiaunt predecessour King Henry the Fifte, with so little a nomber of our contreye men ayenst so great a multitude of the Frenshemen at the batell of Azyncourte, your retynwe at your noble towne of Caleys, and others there, ones yearly, make a solempne tryumphe, goyng in procession, laudyng God, shotyng gonnes, with the noyse and melodye of trumpetts and other instruments, to the great rejoysing of your subjectes being aged; the comforte of them that be able men; the encouragyng of young children."

PLEACE it Your Grace to haue in remembraunce that at my late being with you, your Grace willed me to write vnto you diligently of thinggs occurraunt here.

So it was, at the meting and sitting of the Kings Graces Commissioners here at Otford the xxx^ti^ day of the laste moneth, at which tyme fewe of the Commissioners wer absent, we found good towardness in diuerse to make contribution to the Kings Grace Voiage in to Fraunce according to the Instructions, and found in diuerse other greate vntowardnes and difficultie so to doo. But, after long communications and the best persuasions that we thowght most meytt to induce thayme therunto, they all hold themselves contented, or at the leste noone of theyme said nay therunto; albeyt this byll of thayr names ande sōmes here enclosed was twyse red vnto thayme, and they wer required to speke if any of thayme wold dissent. Neuerthelesse I fear, that ther was not so greate

difficultie to haue it graunted in maner forsaid, as it wolbe to haue it lieved nowe shortely; specially wher other graunts of the Parliament bee nowe payable; and wher a good nomebre of thaym affirmed assuredlye that they be not able to make so moche as the somes by the Parliament graunted, onles they shuld sell thaire lands or moueables. And in that caas they thought they shuld finde but fewe that wold by theyme, excepte they shuld sell far vndre the price. And some of thayme said that albeit it shuld be to thair greate payne to pay the said graunt, yet it shuld be moche more payne vnto thayme to practise with the people for thesame to be graunted, considering ther pouertye and streictnes of the Instructions, taking euery man after th'abilitie that he was of at the Lone, without any remyssion of that they bee sithens decayed.

Over this, inasmoch as I promised your Grace to write vnto you suche things as I shuld here and knowe in theis parteis, I thinke I can do no lesse but utter vnto your Grace such reaports as my frends abrode in the countrey haue made vnto me secretely, of the talking of the people vpon the *first* rumor that suche payments shuld be required on the Kings Grace behalfe: to whome I have feighfully promised not to vtter the same to their hurte: which I entierlye beseche your Grace to kepe to yourselfe, that no maner knowlege be hadd that I vttered any suche

thing vnto your Grace. For if it shuld, many movements might ensue: besids that I shuld neuer be made privye in any lyke thing, what so euer secrete mischefe shuld fortune to be entended, as God forbede any suche thing shulde.

It hathe been shewed me in secrete maner of my frends, that the people sore grudgethe and murmureth, and spekith cursidly emong theymselues as far as they dare; seying that they shall neuer haue rest of payments as long as some levithe, and that they hadd lever die than to be thus contynually handled; rekonyng themselues, theyr childrene, and wyfes, as desperats, and not greately caring what they doo, or what become of thayme.

Item it hathe ben shewed me, that some of the Commissioners fering the malice of the people, entendith to shewe vnto thayme the Kings Grac's commaundment, but playnely without any great furtheraunce; and in caas they finde any maner of sticking or difficultie in thayme, not to wade verey far to persuade thayme, but to remytt the hole Hundreds to me. In which caas I desier your Grace to send me your counsell in writing what shalbe best for me to do, for if they woll not bee persuaded by me, I thinke it not beste to send a multytude to the Kings Grace according to the Instructions.

Also it hath been shewed me to my face, that by muche medling and persuading this matier to come

to effecte, I shall lose the fauor of the hole countrey; which notwithstanding I shall contynually do the best I can possible for the furtheraunce of the Kings pleasure in that behalfe, what so euer daunger or displeasur therof ensue vnto me.

Fferther I am enformed, that ther is a grudge newely nowe resuscitat and reviued in the mynds of the people, for that the Lone is not repayed to thayme vppon the first receipte of the graunte of Parliament; as it was promised thayme by the Commissioners, shewing thayme the Kings Graces instructions conteynyng thesame, signed with his Graces own hand: in somoche that they fere not to speke, that they be contynually begyled, and no promise is kepte vnto thayme; and theruppon some of theyme presuppose that this gifte and graunte be ons received, albeyt the Kings Grace go not beyond the See, yet nothing shalbe restored agayne, albeyt they be shewed the contrarye.

It is me enformed that it is a common voice emong thayme that if they must neds give the Kings Grace as moche as is nowe required, they will neuer otherwise consent therunto but that the Loone shalbe parte of thesame.

And generally it is reaported vnto me, that for the most parte euery man sayeth he wolbe contented that the Kings Grace haue as moche as he may spare, but verely many say they be not able to do as they be re-

quered. And many denieth nott but they will give the Kings Grace according to thaire powres, but they woll in nowise geve at other mennys appointement whiche knowith not thaire neds.

Item some say that if suche as haue money wold lend vnto thayme that lakkith money, yet all the money in England besids that which is receivyd for the Kings vse alredy, shall not be sufficient to performe the graunts of the Parliament not yet paide; and this money now required, so moche is sent and spent out of this Realme already, with conveyaunce of Englishe gold in to Flaunders by Englishe merchaunts to thaire singuler advauntaige, by force wherof some say the Kings Grace must coyne copper and brasse for gold and siluer, as spent and gone, which shuld be to the great reproche of this realme.

Also it is spoken abrode, as I vnderstand by relation, that it shalbe the vttermust empoverisshing and vndoing of this Realme, and the greatest enriching of the Realme of Fraunce, if the Kings Grace shuld have all this money that is required and shuld spend it out of this Realme in Fraunce, wher is Grace must continually make his abode a long season and kepe it, if it fortune hyme to wyne it, or else it shall be sone lost agayne. Whiche the Kings Grace long contynuaunce ther wolbe to the greate decaying and desolation of this Realme; wheras also the moost parte of the nobles of this Realme must give attend-

aunce vppon his Grace ther, and thair spend their revenues of thair lands.

I haue hard say more ouer that wher the people be commaunded to make fyers and tokens of joye for the taking of the Frenche Kinge, diuerse of thayme haue spoken that they haue more cause to wepe than to rejoyse therat. And diuerse (as it hath been shewed me secretely) haue wisshed openly that the Frenche King wer at his libertie agayne, so as ther wer a good peace, and the Kings Grace shuld not attempte to wyne Fraunce. The wynnyng wherof shuld be more chargefull to England than profitable: and the keping therof moche more chargefull than the wynnyng.

Also it hath been told me secretely that diuerse haue recomptid and repetid what infinite sommes of money the Kings Grace hath spent alredy inuading Fraunce; ons in his own Roiall person; and two other sundry tymes by his seuerall noble Capitains; and little or nothing in comparation of his costes hath preuailed: in somoche that the Kings Grace at this hower hath not on fote of land more in Fraunce than his most noble father hadd, which lakked no riches or wisdom to wyne the kingdome of Fraunce if he hadd thought it expedient.

Thes which I haue rehersed be the lieght and idle voices of the people, now at the first rumor and brute of this matier, which on my faith hath ben shewed me

so secretely by my frends, and vnder such condition, that I wold not haue thaym farthur vttred but to your Grace for moche good; for such causes as I woll shewe your Grace when I shall nexte come vnto the same. I trust that wher it is a prouerbe that a wondre dureth but ix dayes, this babling woll shortely (after that men haue remembred and well aduised themselues) cesse and wax more calme; orels I woll fynd the best meane that I can to represse it to the paynes of thayme that clatereth so folisshely, if I may knowe ther persons and communications by other wayes then by way of secretie. I wold that the tyme wold haue suffered that this practising with the people for soe greate sommes might haue been spared tyll the Cockowe tyme, and the hoote wether (at which tyme madd braynes be wont to be most busye) had ben ouer passed, but wher the necessitie otherwise requireth I woll for my parte do the best I can. My Lord, though I wryte vnto your Grace herin some things whiche be not of verey greate importaunce, yet I do it to th'entent that nothing shalbe said or done her in theis parteis which shuld be hidd frome your Grace. At Otford the vth day of Aprile.

At your Graces commaundment

WILLM. CANTUAR'.

To the moost reverende fadre in God and my verey singuler good Lord my Lord Cardinall of Yorke, Legate de latere, his good Grace.

LETTER CXXIX.

The Duke of Norfolk to Cardinal Wolsey. Visits Norwich as Chief Commissioner for the "Amicable Grant."

[IBID. fol. 336.]

PLEAS it your Grace to bee aduertised of the circumstaunce howe I haue procedid and sped in suche besines as the Kingis Highnes sent me for into theis parties at this tyme.

Ffirste before my comyng I sent worde to the Sherif to cause all suche gentilmen as bee conteynede in a bill here inclosed to mete me at Norwyche on Wednisday at night the xxix. day of this monethe, and in lyke wyse I sent vnto Sr Roger Townesend, and to Sr John Shelton to come hither to me as on Tuisday laste paste, at which tyme of theire commyng hither, White the lerned man was comyn frome your Grace to me with the Instruccions, Commissions, and Lettres, which I redd to the said twoo Knightts and lerned man, and soo handled theim that they were contentid to folowe the King's pleasure. And I ensure your Grace they haue sithins done veary moche good to the vttermoste of theire power to conduce the rest vnto the same.

Upon Wednisday at night I rode to Norwyche, where in the evenyng I called vnto me vj. or vij moo

of the moste wysiste of the Shire, and of those whiche I supposed I moght doo mete with, and brake the matire vnto theim to condiscende vnto the same: and in the morenyng I sent for vj. or vij. others, and soo brought theim therevnto; and than sent for the rest: and fynally all they subscribed a bill whiche they haue signed with theire owne handis, and with the rats that they shall paye according to the rats expressed in the Instruccions, and than delyuered theim the books of the firste Loone by Indentures, and devyded theim into dyuers Hundrids, and also appoyntid ffiers to bee made in euery Towne in the Shire on Sondày night; and in euery towne discrete persons to declare to the people the greate overthrowe of the Frenche King, and to doo the moste they can to incorage theim to this Invasion this Somer; and upon Tuisday next all those that were rated in the laste Loone frome l^li. vpwarde shalbee a fore the Commissioners.

And but for that I had knowlege out of Suffolke that noo Sessing shalbee there vnto th'ending of the next Weke at the soneste, this matire shuld haue been practised frome xx^ti. vpwarde before Thuresday at night; but fearing whether they wold condiscende to the graunte or not, I haue deferred the same vnto the tyme I may suerly knowe what day shalbee appoyntid in Suffolk; and soo t'appoynt this Shire on the same day to th'entente that if it shall chaunce-

any to make denyall, th'others shalhaue noo knowlege of the same to take any evill ensample therby.

I have soren[a] all the Commissioners not to disclose any parte thereof to any other creature; and in lyke wyse they shall swere all those that shall come before theim vpon Tuisday.

After this, yesterday, I. called before me the Maire of Norwyche, and all those whose names be specified in a bill herein closed, whome I had put into the Commission in the voyde place that was lefte for that purpose, and with the beste wordis I could devyce to speke.

Ffirste declareing to theim the prosperous successe in Italye, with all other persuasions that I could to encorage theim to this matire; and than redd the lettre to theim directid, the Commission, and Instruccions, and desired theire consent to this graunte, as the gentilmen had doon before theim, which I shewed theim wrytten with theire owne hands. Wherevpon they desired to speke together, and than to make me answer, whiche I was contentid they shuld doo after I had taken there othes as I had doon of the gentilmen.

After dyner they retourned to me and said that they considred well that the tyme was veary commodious nowe for the Kings Highnes to invade Fraunce, and that noo subgetts in this Reame nor in the Worlde wold bee more desirous than they to

[a] sworn.

th'extremitie of theire power to help theire souuerain lorde; but assuredly noone of theim had somoche reddy money as I desired of them; and so offerd to take an othe, nor they thought that there was not somoche within the hoole Citie as shuld extend to the rats: yet notwithstanding to th'entente that the Kings Highnes shuld perfitely knowe that they were his assured loving subgiets they wold bee contentid to make shifte with all the plate they haue: and if it woold please his Grace to take gilt plate for iiij^{s}. the ounce, parcell gilt for iiij^{s}. viij^{d}., and plate white for ij^{s}. iiij^{d}. they wolde graunte the hoole rate for their parts.

Saying that the living of theim of the Citie was moste by worsted and stamen making, which was wroght by th'ands of many a thousand, and must be paied euery weke; and if they shuld delyuer out all theire redy money they could not haue the said worsted and stamen made; and so consequentely the Towne shuld fall to extreme ruyne and the contry in like wyse for lack of occupacon, whiche they desired me to considre. Wherevpon I shewed theim that I wold speke with dyuers that were there with me, and than make theim answer: and so spake with, S^{r} Roger Townesend, S^{r} John Shelton, Ellis baron of th'exchequire, and White the lerned: and was thought by vs all that I shuld saye vnto theim as here after dothe ensue.

Ffirste I shewed theim that I was veary ioyfull to see theim handle themselfs thus lovingly vnto the Kings Highnes. Notwithstanding forasmoche as I had noo more auctoritie in this Commission then all they had, and that noo power was geven to vs to take plate for a lesse valewe than it was worthe, I durste not take theire hands to bee sett to the booke after those pryces. Notwithstanding I wold not refuse theire offre, but wold aduertise the Kings Highnes and youre Grace with the beste words I could vse to cause theim to have thanks for the same; and after knowlege had thereof to resorte eftesones to theim and to declare the Kings pleasure vnto theim.

Than all they desired me to bee a meane to his Highnes and youre Grace, that onles the other good Cities of the Realme did graunte to theis rats aswell as they, that they shuld not bee charged therewith: and of trothe the gentilmen of the Shire desired me the same for theire parts: wherein I promised theim to doo my beste; beseching youre Grace that with all convenyente diligence I may knowe the Kings pleasure and yowrs, what I shall doo concernyng th'offre made of the said Plate.

And vnder your Grace's correccon. me thinke if the losse shuld not extende to noo greate valewe, it shuld bee well doon to take plate of all that wold offre the same, whiche shuld alure mens herts with the bettur will to condiscende to the grauntt: and

than suche a Coyne might be devised as were the dandipratts at the King of ded is going ouer to Bullen:[a] wherewith the Kings Highnes mought recompens his losse and yet the same good inough to bee spent in Fraunce.

Assuring youre Grace that notwithstanding that the Commissioners haue grauntid, yet I feare moche howe th'others shalbe brought therevnto; for those that haue moste aduaunced this matire with me doo shewe vnto me that they beleve that there is skant somoche money within the Shire as the tats shall extende vnto. Notwithstanding, assured youre Grace may bee, that I and others with me shall doo the beste we can possible: and I pray God that all the Commissioners of the Reame be aswell myndid to serue the Kings purpose as these bee here with me, and that London and all other Cities doo noo worse than Norwych hathe begon. Writen at Kenynghale the furst day of Aprill.

Yours most bownden

T. NORFFOLK.

To my Lorde Legats good Grace.

[a] Camden, in his "Remains," edit. 1674, p. 244, says "Henry the Seventh stamped a small coin called Dandyprats." Sherwood in his Diction. Angl. & François, fol. Lond. 1650, also notices this coin, but says it had long been out of use. It is at present, certainly by this name, unknown to the Collectors of English Coins.

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